Your paper needs your help!

SEE PAGES 2, 15

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newspaper

5 cents

Vol. 2, No. 18 NEW YORK, N. Y., FEBRUARY 22, 1950

Max Werner

World tories, scared by H-Bomb, adopt Wallace peace plan

OPPOSITION to the Administration's atomic policy and strategy is growing into a national rebellion and an international crusade against the H-Bomb. This time the picture has turned upside down, the strongest opposition coming from the conservative forces in Washington, London and Paris.

Strange as it may seem, the strongest center of opposition in this country is in the U. S. Senate. "Key senators are known to be perturbed over the position taken by President Truman and his Secretary of State, Dean Acheson," said the New York Times. On the larger national scale rational Republicans, Southern Democrats, regular Democrats, churchmen and atomic scientists are intermingled in a kind of national anti-atomic front.

Something has changed indeed in the political climate of the country, if the staunch Administration supporter Senator McMahon adopts Henry Wallace's plan of international reconstruction as the only alternative to the atomic arms race.

TERRIFIED TORIES: Yet this week the international repercussions of the H-Bomb crisis were even weightier than the reaction in the U. S. Anthony Eden has opened a political landslide, insisting on international action to stop atomic armament. Now, with Winston Churchill demanding an immediate Big Three talk on the highest level—something which is taboo to our State Dept. —the situation has got fantastically out of hand and become unbearably contradictory.

Shifting suddenly to conciliation action, the famous man of Fulton and of last year's Boston speeches has stabbed the Truman-Acheson policy in the back. Churchill has shrewdly outflanked the Labor Party in his dramatic campaigning: "stolen a march on his Labor Party opponents," as the Herald Tribune correspondent remarked.

French conservative protests against the H-Bomb and appeals for neutralization of France are meant and worded even stronger than the British warnings. The situation is completely unorthodox. Conservatives of all countries united against the H-Bomb are repudiating the Truman-Acheson atomic policy. Mr. Vyshinsky is certainly not responsible for this affront. The plain fact is that conservative western Europe is frightened to death of protection by the monster of the H-Bomb, and rejects it.

ONE OR THE OTHER: Our diplomats do not understand the political consequences of the A-Bomb and its macabre successor, the H-Bomb. We simply cannot have both, allies and the A- and H-Bombs: acceptance of atomic weapons must lead to the disintegration of American alliances.

It is not an accident that clinging to the H-Bomb and Mr. Acheson's "No" to international negotiations have produced the most terrifying effect in France: now, within a few days, France has been knocked out of the imaginary Atlantic Pact system. Truly, it was not difficult to predict how under the impact of the H-Bomb the U. S.-European alliances would break down. In the last days the procedure has been described in detail by the New York Times' thoughtful Paris correspondent, Harold Callender. He wrote on February 11:

> It is believed here that these risks (of the H-Bomb) are far greater for France than for the United States. The comment is made that it may also have rendered western Europe permanently defenseless . . .

And he continued on February 15:

> The specter of the new bomb added to the depressing burden that had been laid upon French spirits by the atomic bomb and by a sense of puniness and powerlessness of Europe in the new age . . . There emerges also more than a doubt about U. S. foreign policy as described by Secretary of State Acheson last Wednesday, in which western Europe appeared destined to be strengthened to resist Soviet expansion. To some Frenchmen, this seems a strange role indeed in the light of the improved bombs that western Europe is not to possess.

MEAN TO DEAN: It is high time to draw the conclusion: western Europe is already factually neutralized. Fear of the H-Bomb became a factor of such magnitude that Winston Churchill, without asking the permission of the State Dept., is already exploiting it.

As for the Atlantic Pact, it has been killed twice: first by the lack of land power, secondly by the dissolving impact of the A- and H-Bombs.

Mr. Acheson appeals now to the restoration of the balance of power. But the restoration of the balance of power on a military level would require no less than U. S. ability and readiness to muster 200 divisions, and to be transformed into a continental land power on the scale of the Soviet Union or pre-war Germany. This solution would certainly be vetoed by President Truman and by Messrs. Acheson and Johnson themselves.

Winston faces the facts of life

(See Werner, this page; the H-Bomb Story, p. 4; UN Report, p. 5)

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NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newspaper

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THE MAILBAG

Northern light

HORNBY ISLAND, B. C.

It's a little more difficult to sell the GUARDIAN in Canada, where we have both a Social Democratic and Communist Party at loggerheads with each other of course. But Cedric Belfrage's editorial of Jan. 2 ["No unity without mutual tolerance"] is the sanest thing I've seen for a long time. I tried to "digest it" to include in a letter to friends, but to leave out any part of it seemed to be like leaving out the seasoning in cooking—so finally I copied the whole and sent it out with the enclosed letter [asking for GUARDIAN subs] to about 50 friends and contacts. Del Vayo is about the only reason we take the Nation now. I wish he would write for the GUARDIAN and we would spend that money for extra subs.

I enclose a money order for $5 and some names. I wish it could be for $500. You are doing a wonderful job and if progressives let you down, there is indeed little left to hope for. We shall deserve what we shall get—fascism by acquiescience, and the sequel—war by tacit consent.

Yours for a million GUARDIAN readers this year. **Hilary Brown**

•

History and Robeson

NEW YORK, N. Y.

I have the Feb. 8 issue of the GUARDIAN before me as I write. Truly you are making of this progressive newspaper a force that must, I believe, some day be favorably compared to those magnificent "voices of freedom" created by such giants as Elijah Lovejoy, Frederick Douglass and William Lloyd Garrison.

What an aid both in terms of courage and education you can be to the Negro press. What a spiritual uplift to Negroes—whose faith in any segment of white America has been so largely dissipated by the spread of the myth of white superiority—you are becoming.

I feel greatly honored that such small contributions as were made in this freedom fight by the organization I have the privilege to lead should place me among those Negroes whose activities you highlight. In all of its achievements the Civil Rights Congress must give you a measure of the credit.

But I must ask this question of paramount importance to me. Where was the picture and the name of Paul Robeson? For me, he is one of, if not the greatest, living Americans.

I cannot understand the omission of his name and picture from the GUARDIAN's magnificent Negro History Week Edition.

William L. Patterson
National Executive Secretary
Civil Rights Congress

The GUARDIAN in the past has devoted many pages to stories by Paul Robeson and stories and pictures of him. We took the occasion of Negro History Week to present to our readers pictures of distinguished Negroes who are not so well known. No slight to Robeson was intended. On the conrtary, the GUARDIAN agrees that Robeson is one of the greatest living Americans. Ed.

•

He has read "Time"

SASKATOON, SASK.

According to the prosecuting attorney, the fact that Whittaker Chambers was once editor of Time magazine proves that he is not psychotic. Well, well! I've read Time often, and I think. . . . Never mind. Skip it.

Who knows whether Hiss is guilty? That is not the point. The EVIDENCE rests on a liar!

Rev. C. P. Bradley

•

18-party line

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

We've gone through our personal phone book here and in addition to getting new subs for the GUARDIAN, we have reminded about 18 people to renew their subs and to get busy on the phone and call at least five of their friends. We've checked and found the chain has been successful thus far.

We'll keep on trying to get more subs and hope that there are thousands like us—who are determined the GUARDIAN must live!

Jeanette S. Myers

Old college try

CHAMPAIGN, ILL.

Many of us are counting on the GUARDIAN to bring us the news we can't possibly expect to find in the commercial press. We're hoping and working for the paper here on campus. Keep up the fight, GUARDIAN!

Harry Psichoglos
Joseph Lewbin
University of Illinois

•

An inkstained hand

SOMEWHERE IN KANSAS

Enclosed find $5 to help keep the GUARDIAN nourished with good newsprint and ink. Sorry it isn't more.

As one newspaperman to others, you fellows are doing a bang-up job of objective reporting — the kind we can find nowhere else in the nation. **Kansas Winter**

•

Without truth, no peace

LORAIN, OHIO

I like the GUARDIAN simply because it tells the truth. Without truth, of course, there can be no peace. Mankind had so many wars because it so often deviated from truth.

In one Lithuanian book, which I have read recently, there was a poem. It is something that millions should know today. It says:

No one can stop a river,
No matter how slowly it flows;
No one can stop the progress
of a new era,
Although to greet it we are
afraid.

I hope the world does not make the same mistakes again.

John J. Gray

•

The Lawrence story

LAWRENCE, MASS.

If your magnificent editorial "A Last Ditch Appeal to Reason" affected others as it did me, we'll have our million GUARDIAN readers in no time! I left the house as soon as I read it and started to stop people on the street. I dropped into a few neighborhood stores and homes.

Everywhere, I found people sick and tired of the lies in the daily press. In two hours I sold 20 subs, which are enclosed.

Tell your readers for me how easy it is to sell the GUARDIAN if they'll just get off their backsides. **Joyce Perry Murphy**

•

Want a camp?

LABELLE CO., QUEBEC

I have been operating a young people's camp for several years—and as I am not getting any younger, feel it is time to pass this on.

The camp can accommodate 75 people. A section is for boys, one is for married couples, and the near section is for girls. It is on a fine lake with sandy shores. There are 250 acres of land—three lakes. With the necessary capital investment it can be made to receive 1,000 campers without crowding the place. Construction is varied. There are six stone buildings—some frame, others log. Good road to it. Electricity has now been installed. It would be ideal for a syndicated group or a union.

The camp is 110 miles from Montreal and a little over three miles from the main highway. It is fully equipped.

I would consider selling or renting. Interested parties could communicate with me at the address below.

R. T. Lafond, Camp Lafond
L'Annonciation
Labelle Co., P. Que.

GUARDIAN last summer told about Camp Lafond. Several readers tested this interracial resort and found it good. Ed.

•

No more moaning

DETROIT, MICH.

Enclosed is a $2 check I had made out to the Traffic Court for a parking ticket. I went to court, won the case and the GUARDIAN gets two new subs.

Good luck! Quit your moaning—we won't let you quit. We've all just been waiting to see a good appeal. **Dean Robb**

•

Stop that shot

VALLEY CITY, N. DAK.

Well here we go: "Hiroshima Harry" has finally given the O.K. for the H-Bomb.

It might well be the shot to be heard 'round the world.

If there is anyone left to hear it, that is.

Enclosed find $5. Renew my sub and four more listed. Wish it could be $500. **Elmer Stevens**

•

DO mention it

LONDON, ENGLAND

I do hope the GUARDIAN makes it, for it is really invaluable. Your material about the food surpluses, the CIO purge and all sorts of other questions not even mentioned in the rest of the press, are of the greatest importance to us here. I am collecting as many subscriptions as I can.

Gordon Schaffer
Asst. Editor, Reynolds News

•

Two kinds of people

NEW YORK, N. Y.

At the Music Hall a week after the "trial of the 11," the audience burst out in applause when the newsreel showed Judge Medina's solemn face and again when the jury was shown. It turned my stomach.

Yesterday in a 14th Street movie I saw The Roosevelt Story and I watched the people around me as they sadly looked at the hearse carrying the man who was loved and hated by so many. This audience burst out in applause twice: at the pictures of three war-leaders at Yalta and again at Teheran. The leaders were Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin.

Far be it from me to assume that the attitude of the general public underwent such remarkable change within a few short months. No—it just showed the difference between the handful of people who can afford to pay Music Hall prices and those who go to third run movie houses. **Eugene H. Neuwald**

Plugged loophole

DALLAS, TEXAS

Less than halfway through "A Last Ditch Appeal To Reason" I was resolved to send that $5. But I didn't want to write a check because this month's budget was already straining at the seams, and the check might be hot. I had a $5 bill that I thought I could manage without until payday — two weeks off — but I couldn't send a greenback in the mail, couldn't get a money-order on Sunday. "Oh well, I'll just wait until payday," I thought, settling to let my progressive soul commune with the rest of the GUARDIAN. Then I came to page 9, "Superstitious About Money?" and the first item hit me. Here's the greenback. Pretty cute, weren't you?

Elizabeth Hughes

The item: you CAN send greenbacks in the mail. Ed.

WANTED

500 pledges like this:

I pledge $10 a month for ten months to guarantee publication of NATIONAL GUARDIAN for the coming year.

Name ....

Address ....

$........ herewith.

Report to Readers

Guardian still needs help—plenty of it!

ONE month has passed since the GUARDIAN placed its financial situation before you and asked for your all-out help.

This is a report on the progress of our campaign during that period; but in offering it we warn against optimism.

Despite an enormously gratifying response in these past weeks, the GUARDIAN's finances remain in extremely precarious shape. The big shoring-up effort is still to be made.

As of the publication date of this issue, we have 83,000 paying readers, with some 5,000 new names now being processed to be added on with the next issue.

This circulation figure is good to look at, but it chiefly means a commitment on our part to deliver a paper to some 80,000 people for the duration of their subscriptions.

It does not mean our financial ability to do so.

Don't forget that most of our subscribers date back through a whole year and do not represent new income until they renew.

Our ability to deliver the GUARDIAN regularly depends directly on the extent to which you will extend yourself to help.

THUS far, in the four weeks since our January 23 appeal, we have received $25,000. Included are more than 12,000 new subscriptions, about 1,500 renewals, an upsurge in back bills paid. No single sum advanced to us has exceeded $200, and many have been as small as 25c. The average has been between $3 and $4.

This response represents the effort of about 7,000 people, or just under 10% of the regular readers who got our original appeal.

Ninety per cent are still unheard from.
Ten to one, this means you.
How about it?

FOR those willing and able to do more, we recommend our $100 pledge proposal above. The GUARDIAN now reaches over 4,000 American communities. In 800 to 1,000 of these we have at least five or more readers. We are confident that in each of these GUARDIAN communities there is one reader or group of readers who can and will pledge us $100 for the rest of 1950, at the rate of $10 a month if you like.

Dozens of readers have already pledged. We need at least 500. May we hear from you—on the coupon above?

On the number and generosity of your responses depends how rapidly we can quit this fortnightly operation and get back to weekly publication. We would like to set a target date now, but we can't honestly do that until we can see the color of our money for a long way ahead.

MEANWHILE, by way of recompense, we have expanded to 16 pages from our former 12, and have opened the columns of the last few pages to advertising. We plan to accept only advertising which is of service and interest to the reader. Our Events Calendar, which has been running for a year, now becomes a $2-an-item department, if you can say it in five lines. We plan a directory of progressive merchants and services; a GUARDIAN Bazaar of national mail-order advertising; a classified section and display ads within reason.

The advertisers will be edited with as much care and responsibility as our editorial and news columns. They are people upon whom we believe you can rely and we sincerely hope you will, beginning with this very first crop. —The Editors

NOTICE

This issue is the first fortnightly GUARDIAN. Some readers, having missed the notice of change of schedule in the last issue, wrote to us asking what happened to their paper. Their paper will reach them every two weeks until we can return to our regular weekly schedule. The next issue will be dated March 8. It will have a full report on the Progressive Party convention.

The alternatives for America

70,000,000 jobs -- or cold war calamity?

By Tabitha Petran

President Truman promises the average American a steady job at $12,500 a year by the year 2000.

Meanwhile, the lines of unemployed lengthen and the President terms this healthy. Job seeking, the N. Y. Times reported him as saying last week, is good for the economy and unemployment of 3,000,000 to 5,000,000 is nothing to worry about.

But every American can have job security and a decent income—not 50 years from now, but in 1950.

An expanding U. S. economy can provide 70,000,000 well-paying jobs.

That is the full employment target today. Since 1944, when the labor force numbered 66,000,000, it has grown by almost a million a year, bringing the total to 70,000,000 by the government's own figures.

This is the new goal which Americans genuinely concerned with full employment must now recognize. The recognition can begin this week in Chicago, where the Progressive Party meets in convention. The alternatives are clear—here they are:

This is the progressive way

AN expanding economy can provide 70,000,000 jobs now—not at Truman's pie-in-the-sky $12,500 a year—but at wages adequate to purchase goods produced. Seventy million jobs is a tall order, but it can be achieved by these steps:

Wage increases

U. S. workers must have substantial wage increases.

Wages pay for three-fourths of what Americans buy. With a substantial increase, workers could and would buy more food, shoes, clothes, furniture, household appliances, radios, cars. Textile and shoe factories would order new machinery; refrigerator makers, more steel. Railroads would move more freight. Locomotive shops would reopen.

Ten million families and 6,000,000 individuals are now eking out a living on incomes of less than $40 a week. Of these submerged millions two-thirds are employed or employable workers. A wage increase is the most direct step to raise their living standards. Their unfilled needs alone could keep factory wheels turning for years to come.

An average increase of 25c an hour for U. S. workers would add $19,000,000,000 to purchasing power.

This would create 4,000,000 jobs. Added to present employment, these alone would take us beyond President Roosevelt's 1944 goal of 60,000,000 jobs.

The welfare state

Truman's warfare state must be transformed into a genuine welfare state.

Truman's social insurance program takes more from the people in payroll taxes than it pays out to them in benefits. About $3,000,000,000 a year from payroll taxes is salted away in government trust funds, where it accumulates interest obligations which the people are then taxed to meet.

ALL-OUT WELFARE: Truman's "welfare state" dwindles to a total expenditure of about $3,500,000,000. A really adequate social security program for the U. S. would cost ten times that or $35,500,000,000: a huge sum, but little more than the $30,000,000,000 a year now spent on past and future wars.

Such a $35,000,000,000 social security program would (1) construct all the schools, hospitals, health centers the nation needs; (2) train all the scientists, teachers, doctors, nurses; (3) begin re-housing the nation; (4) furnish all Americans with the health and medical care they need; (5) provide stepped-up old-age and unemployment benefits, and children's allowances.

Financing such a program would require an end to the cold war and a deep cut in military spending, as well as thorough-going revision of the tax structure to get additional billions from those able to pay.

SOMETHING TO START: If $35,000,000,000 is unrealistic, an immediate goal of a $15- to $16,000,000,000 social security program is realizable. This would provide old-age benefits of $65 a month per individual and $100 per couple; children's allowances of about $10 a month; $35-a-week unemployment insurance for 52 weeks; a ten-year hospital construction program; an expanded medical education program; higher teachers' salaries; a start to the rehousing of America by construction of 2,000,000 homes a year.

A $16,000,000,000 social security program would raise the living standards of the 15,000,000 Americans who live way below subsistence standards. And of course, $16,000,000,000 added to the stream of purchasing power would create new jobs by the millions.

Foreign trade

Truman's foreign economic program must be scrapped in favor of a $10,000,000,000-a-year UN program to raise world living standards.

Two-thirds of the world's people live in under-developed areas where average per capita income is below $100 a year. Food supplies are inadequate, life expectancy is barely 30 years. Truman's Point Four program proposes to spend about $50,000,000 this year as, when and where U. S. big business decides, to speed penetration of U. S. capital to backward areas.

HUMAN NEED: Sen. Brien McMahon recently proposed using half the money now spent on the cold war, or $10,000,000,000, to aid the rest of the world including Russia. Such a sum spent on industrialization of backward lands through the UN and on the UNRRA principle of human need would open huge markets for U. S. exports and mean millions of jobs for U. S. workers, scientists, technicians.

Trade and credits for Russia, eastern Europe and China alone would provide 3,000,000 jobs.

Build America

A $10,000,000,000 a year program must be adopted to develop and put to work the resources of America.

This would permit regional planning authorities in the major river valleys the country over to achieve cheap power, rural electrification, flood control, reforestation and to accelerate the growth of under-developed regions.

The rebuilding of America will provide untold jobs. As an example, needed highway improvements alone would furnish jobs for more than 950,000 people for ten years. The production and marketing of the consumer goods purchased by labor so employed would provide 1,150,000 jobs for ten years.

Atomic energy

Atomic energy must be developed for peace. This precludes the making of the H-bomb.

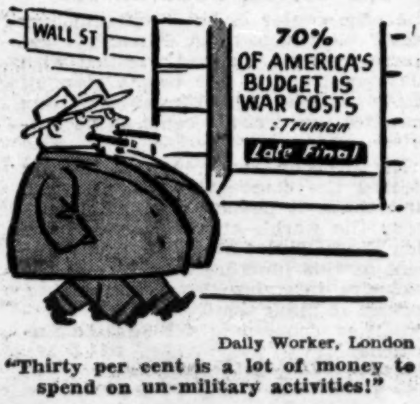
Atomic energy opens a whole new employment frontier which has yet to be explored. But it is clear that 70,000,000 jobs are realizable. The sums required may seem enormous. Yet we've been throwing away more than $20,000,000,000 a year on foreign adventures and armaments.

During the war we spent $400,000,000,000 in four years on the war program to preserve our national security. Today our national security is threatened by a depression which could cost twice that much—$800,000.000,000 according to Presidential adviser Keyserling.

How much is it worth to us to have 70,000,000 well-paying jobs, in a nation and world at peace, in 1950?

Or would you rather wait and take your chances on a $12,500 job in the year 2000?

FOR THEM THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY FIGHTS
For the pursuit of happiness in peace, freedom and abundance



Daily Worker, London
"Thirty per cent is a lot of money to spend on un-military activities!"

This is the Truman way

UNEMPLOYMENT last month reached its highest point in nine years: 4,480,000. The Dept. of Commerce regards as "employed" any person working one hour a week or more.

In addition, the government acknowledges that 5,000,000 have "dropped from the labor market" although they are still a part of the total U. S. labor force.

While the labor force has been increasing by about a million a year, jobs are growing fewer. In 1948 the economy provided 59,300,000 jobs; in 1949, 58,700,000; in January, 1950, 56,900,000.

Between 1945 and 1948 the buying power of U. S. wages fell about 16%—a more disastrous decline than has occurred even in any depression since 1914. This cut in real earnings so reduced buying power in 1948 and again in 1949 that U. S. consumers were able to buy barely 70% of the country's output—the lowest proportion in history.

The lifeblood ebbs

When people can't buy, machines and men are idle.

When people can't buy, business doesn't expand its plant and equipment. The post-war boom was largely powered by the plant expansion programs of business. But even at the height of the boom, about 25% of industrial capacity was idle because people's buying power had failed to keep pace with the capacity to produce.

In 1949, business—with a productive capacity already far in excess of steadily shrinking demand—cut its spending for new plant and equipment 5%. In 1950, according to the McGraw Hill Survey, it will make another 13% cut. These cuts mean more unemployment.

It is this widening gap between buying power and productive capacity that is the basic factor behind depressions. The widening gap precipitated crises in 1947, 1948 and 1949. Truman's answer has been to inject artificial stimulants: spending for arms and foreign adventures.

The bitter price

These successive shots in the arm have not prevented the growth of unemployment. They have kept profits up.

In three years of the cold war profits before taxes totaled $94,000,000,000. Today's caculated hysteria over the Hydrogen-bomb prepares the ground for another super-armaments shot in the arm to maintain profits.

Three years of cold-war arming have not only left more Americans jobless and cut into buying power. They have directly depressed the standard of living of U. S. families. On an average, each family has paid out $3,000 in taxes and increased prices to support the armaments and cold war program.

Another price exacted by the cold war is the emasculation of health, social security and welfare services. Welfare benefits under the Fair Deal are still geared to depression standards.

The cold-war embargo on commerce with Russia, Eastern Europe, and China is costing U. S. workers 3,000,000 jobs, which trade with these countries would provide. Instead of promoting trade, the cold war has resulted in a drop of one-third in U. S. exports from the high point of 1947.

Truman's devices to bolster the sagging economy by armaments and cold-war spending are fruitless. The Truman way leads to depression or war.

ROUNDUP OF THE WEEK'S NEWS

THE H-BOMB STORY

The people of the world refuse to die for dear old Harry

THE engineers were not quite sure that a hydrogen bomb could be built; the generals, outside the Air Force, were not quite sure they wanted the bomb; the plain people were very sure they didn't want it. The policy-makers of the cold war took it as their own.

They did not wait for production schedules; they did not really need the actual bomb so long as they had the possibility of the bomb and all the gory visions of destruction that went with it. The visions coud be dropped like bombs; it was an inexpensive, inexhaustible arsenal on which to found a policy.

But at New York's Carnegie Hall Dr. Linus Pauling, theoretical chemist of the California Institute of Technology and former president of the American Chemical Society, told an audience: "A future of the world in which half of the people of the world are held in submission by the other half, through fear of this great super-weapon, could never be a safe future for anybody." The meeting was called by the National Council of the Arts, Science and Professions.

After the meeting Dr. Philip Morrison, atomic physicist of Cornell University, said to the GUARDIAN: "The hydrogen bomb, unlike the atomic bomb, cannot even claim peaceful by-products. The decision to manufacture the hydrogen bomb is a decision to put American atomic ingenuity entirely at the service of war. The decision to make the hydrogen bomb must be interpreted as a decision for a direction for American policy, not as a hard-headed military action."

DR. LINUS PAULING
Nobody will be safe

Henry Wallace: Program for peace

On the eve of the Progressive Party's national convention at Chicago Henry A. Wallace made this statement on the H-bomb crisis:

THE only party that stands for a dynamic approach to peace in a hydrogen bomb world is the Progressive Party.

I realize that the Progressive Party, in putting forward a peace proposal at this time, must overcome a backlog of discredit built up through a combination of unjust malice and its own mistakes.

Since construction of the hydrogen bomb has become the most serious problem in the world today, we must cast aside our normal partisanship in the face of impending disaster. We must make it possible for all those in the country who believe in the necessity and possibility of peaceful settlement of the problem of atomic energy as a weapon of war, to rally to one banner where their united voice can be made effective.

This rallying point can be the Progressive Party: not the Progressive Party of today, with its narrow range of support, but a new, broader, forward-looking party, whose actions will forever reflect credit not only on its supporters but on the ability of man to meet his problems without violence.

SPECIFICALLY the program I propose is the following:

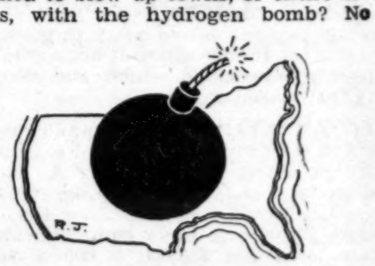
1. A public declaration by the North Atlantic Pact nations that they will not be the first to use atomic weapons. To be followed immediately by:

2. Initiation of official public diplomatic negotiations between the U. S. and Russia, to continue until an agreement has been reached providing for the renunciation of the use of atomic energy as a destructive weapon. This agreement will include a method of inspection through the UN to insure the carrying out of the agreement.

I therefore plead with all who oppose or doubt the advisability of the policy of "power without hope" now pursued by the nation's leaders, to support the Progressive Party in this minimum, immediate program for peace.

SCRUPLES: From generals, columnists, scientists, churchmen, politicians and plain potential victims, reactions to the hydrogen bomb flowed swiftly and sharply. Here are some:

- From Mrs. Emily Anderson of Burlingame, Calif., written just before throwing herself in front of a train: "I always said I was not afraid to die. All of us in the hydrogen bomb . . . it's worse than being buried alive. All kinds of fire and death and . . ." The last word was undecipherable.
- From the World Council of Churches: In Geneva Feb. 21 to Feb. 23, the Executive Committee of the Council is discussing the "theological and moral questions involved in the projected development of the hydrogen bomb." Four U. S. churchmen are present.
- From Albert Einstein: See below.
- From Rep. Rankin (D-Miss.): "He (Einstein) should have been deported for his communistic activities years ago. The bunk that he is now spreading is simply carrying out the communist line."
- From **Le Devoir** (Duty), Catholic newspaper in Montreal, commenting on the news that Robert Lewis, bombardier who dropped the bomb that wiped out Hiroshima, has entered a monastery: "He lost his inner peace . . .In the next war how many young men will be condemned to blow up towns, or entire regions, with the hydrogen bomb? No more than Robert Lewis will they have a choice. They will destroy in the name of humanity, like slaves. Scruples of conscience? [Such scruples are] temptations of the devil, agents of fifth columns, emissaries of communism, insists the iron theology of the contemporary state."



The serene haberdasher

At the center of the "contemporary state" that wiped out Hiroshima sat Harry Truman. He had wrestled with his conscience in the bright glare of photo flashes. As in most wrestling matches the decision came as no surprise.

His decision made, Harry Truman steered the course that for the first time made it possible for men to destroy the world. Arthur Krock of the New York **Times** described the President at this juncture as "serene." The exclusive interview, given top billing, seemed to mark the **Times'** final emergence as spokesman for the Administration.

(Continued on following page)

Albert Einstein

We must do away with mutual fear and distrust

Following is the text of Dr. Albert Einstein's address on peace and atomic energy, delivered on Lincoln's Birthday on Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt's television program:

THE idea of achieving security through national armament is, at the present state of military technique, a disastrous illusion. On the part of the United States this illusion has been particularly fostered by the fact that this country succeeded first in producing an atomic bomb. The belief seemed to prevail that in the end it were possible to achieve decisive military superiority.

In this way, any potential opponent would be intimidated, and security, so ardently desired by all of us, brought to us and all of humanity. The maxim which we have been following during these last five years has been, in short: security through superior military power, whatever the cost.

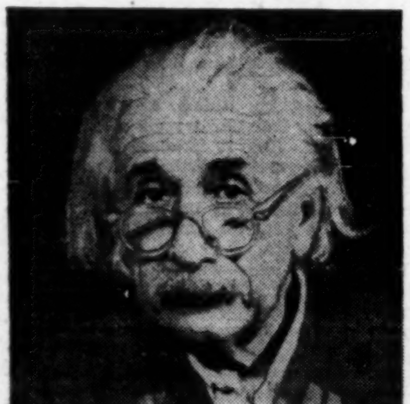
This mechanistic, technical-military psychological attitude had inevitable consequences. Every single act in foreign policy is governed exclusively by one viewpoint.

How do we have to act in order to achieve utmost superiority over the opponent in case of war? Establishing bases at all possible strategically important points on the globe. Arming and economic strengthening of potential allies.

WITHIN the country — concentration of tremendous financial power in the hands of the military, militarization of the youth, close supervision of the loyalty of the citizens, in particular, of the civil servants by a police force growing more conspicuous every day. Intimidation of people of independent political thinking. Indoctrination of the public by radio, press, school. Growing restriction on the range of public information under the pressure of military secrecy.

The armament race between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., originally supposed to be a preventive measure, assumes a hysterical character. On both sides, the means to mass destruction are perfected with feverish haste—behind the respective walls of secrecy. The H-bomb appears on the public horizon as a probably attainable goal. Its accelerated development has been solemnly proclaimed by the President.

If successful, radioactive poisoning of the atmosphere and hence annihilation of any life on earth has been brought within the range of technical possibilities. The ghostlike character of this development lies in its apparently compulsory trend. Every step appears as the unavoidable consequence of the preceding one. In the end, there beckons more and more clearly general annihilation.



DR. ALBERT EINSTEIN
"There beckons . . . annihilation"

IS there any way out of this impasse created by man himself? All of us, and particularly those who are responsible for the attitude of the U. S. and the U.S.S.R., should realize that we may have vanquished an external enemy, but have been incapable of getting rid of the mentality created by the war.

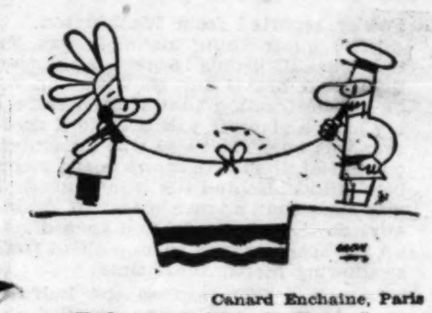
It is impossible to achieve peace as long as every single action is taken with a possible future conflict in view. The leading point of view of all political action should therefore be: What can we do to bring about a peaceful co-existence and even loyal cooperation of the nations?

THE first problem is to do away with mutual fear and distrust. Solemn renunciation of violence (not only with respect to means of mass destruction) is undoubtedly necessary.

Such renunciation, however, can only be effective if at the same time a supra-national judicial and executive body is set up empowered to decide questions of immediate concern to the security of the nations. Even a declaration of the nations to collaborate loyally in the realization of such a "restricted world government" would considerably reduce the imminent danger of war.

In the last analysis, every kind of peaceful cooperation among men is primarily based on mutual trust and only secondly on institutions such as courts of justice and police. This holds for nations as well as for individuals. And the basis of trust is loyal give and take.

What about international control? Well, it may be of secondary use as a police measure. But it may be wise not to overestimate its importance The times of prohibition come to mind and give one pause.



Canard Enchaine, Paris
"Hello, Joe? This is Harry."

(Continued from preceding page)

AGAINST SUICIDE: The helmsman might be serene, but the passengers and crew were far from it. From Washington, where key senators Brien McMahon (D-Conn.) and Millard Tydings (D-Md.) had begun the revolt against a foreign policy of suicide, the call for another meeting with the Russians was taken up in England, where Tory politicians on election eve had their ears close to the ground of popular sentiment. The promise that if elected the Tories would propose such a meeting at once was made by Winston Churchill, whose Fulton, Mo., speech in 1946, personally sponsored by Truman, started the cold war.

Joining last week in the clamor for peace talks by cold-warriors now glimpsing the facts of life were Republican Harold Stassen and Democratic Sen. Tom Connally (Tex.). If there were another stalemate, Connally added with the old pugnacity: "When better bombs are built, we will build them."

"ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL": From their side the Russians reprinted what Stalin had said nearly two years ago: "Peaceful settlements of disagreements between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. are not only possible but are absolutely essential in the interests of general peace." Stalin wrote those words in answer to an open letter from Henry A. Wallace. (See Wallace's views, p. 4).

Though pleas to talk peace grew louder and came from left, right and center, the President said no word to the Russians. He reassured the U.S. people via the New York **Times**, and with Acheson continued the previous "serene" policy of the Administration.

Nowhere was serenity so hard to come by for cold warriors as in the Far East.

CHINA

East meets West to chart brotherhood

FOR 30 years China has been torn by great civil wars, for 14 years by foreign invasion, for five by world war. Today for the first time in the memory of most humans China is at peace.

On Feb. 14 in Moscow, representatives of the almost 500,000,000 citizens of China and the 200,000,000 of the Soviet Union signed a 30-year treaty of friendship, alliance and mutual aid. The meeting of East and West lifted the curtain on a new world in the making: a third of humanity planning cooperative industrialization with its own own resources of the vast land mass it inhabits, stretching from the Pacific Ocean to the River Elbe. The agreement provided for:

- An alliance to prevent revival of Japanese imperialism and to oppose aggression by any state directly or indirectly connected with Japan.
- At the conclusion of a Japanese treaty and not later than 1952, transfer without compensation of all Soviet rights in the Changchun railway (Manchurian branch of the Trans-Siberian); withdrawal of Soviet troops from Port Arthur; transfer of Soviet property rights in Port Arthur and Dairen.
- A $300,000,000 Soviet credit to China for electric power stations, mining machinery and railway equipment; return to China without any charge of the Japanese property and equipment acquired by the Soviet Union through the liberation of Manchuria.

PRECEDENT: The whole colonial world paid close attention as, for the first time in history, the East sat down with a Western power on an equal basis to map the strengthening and development of a backward land.

To China it meant the freedom to forge ahead with building without delay. China and Russia would act together to preserve peace, on which fulfillment of their vast program of industrialization must depend.

The $300,000,000 credit is equivalent to $1,000,000,000 under the old regime: there are no rake-offs, no middlemen's profits, no Marshall Plan requirements about the kind of goods to be purchased. The loan, strictly for development, is a small part of an unfolding picture. China will get additional machinery from a network of yet-to-be-concluded trade pacts with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

The Chinese delegation to Moscow included top industrial and trade officials of Manchuria and Sinkiang. Actual blueprints for the industrialization of China are believed to have been mapped during the nine-week discussions. Northwest China, rich in resources, will almost certainly be among the first regions to be industrialized. Three new railways are being built into the Northwest this year.

The West looks on

To the peoples of the West the treaty meant that China's full weight had been thrown into the balance against the cold war, by which the West has been isolating and weakening itself economically. Russia and China were organizing not to exclude western trade but to prevent the West from being able to control or hinder their development. Industrialization and integration of their great area will exert a tremendous pull on western trade. The West's problem is to find markets; its own economies are competitive, not complementary.

To Western officialdom which had joyfully predicted that Russia would "detach" Manchuria, demand extensive concessions, the treaty brought perhaps the reddest faces in history. The United

Press admitted on Feb. 15 that China "appeared not to have made any concessions" but is "getting more than she is giving." But fuming editorialists and Secretary Acheson hinted darkly at "secret protocols" in the agreement.

A LAME HORSE: The U.S. answer was to dispatch the fleet in strength to wartime battle stations in the Far East and push arms shipments to Indo-China. At Bangkok, U.S. Far Eastern diplomats meeting to map anti-communist strategy in Asia were uneasy.

Fear that Washington was backing the wrong horse in Indo-China was widespread. The Anglo-U.S.-French puppet, Bao Dai, was unofficially termed incapable of winning the war against Ho Chi Minh's independence movement. Failure of Thailand (Siam) to recognize Bao Dai emphasized the belief prevalent in South East Asia that the liberation movement would win in Indo-China just as it had in China.

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United Nations report

H-Bomb diplomacy by U.S. spurs independence move

Guardian UN Correspondence

LAKE SUCCESS

NOT one inhabitant of any country in the world, from Argentina to Zanzibar, loves Mr. Truman and Mr. Acheson enough to want to be atomized to please them.

Recognition of this simple political fact by conservative leaders in Britain and France—and even in Washington—is changing the United Nations climate from day to day and leaving Acheson and Truman out on a limb with their H-bomb and "won't talk to Russia" policy. The trend toward a neutral (independent of the U.S.) policy by middle powers, which began when these powers forced mediation in Paris in the Berlin "blockade" dispute, now gains ground rapidly.

SMALL GUYS HAVE POWER: The Berlin mediation did not succeed, but it showed the middle powers had enough votes to impose a "stop-the-fight" policy. As the blockade crisis receded, thanks to civilized talks between—again—delegates at UN, Jessup of the U.S. and Malik of the U.S.S.R., the neutral trend slackened.

It was in process of revival—as the GUARDIAN often pointed out—but too weak to show effects, when in September, 1949, the U.S. discovered the Soviets had the atom bomb. At least a dozen "pro-western" countries made new atomic proposals, which all softened the U.S., not the Soviet stand. But the U.S. forced them to re-endorse the antiquated majority (Baruch) plan, based on the assumption of a U.S. monopoly.

These nations resented U.S. obstinacy since then. The neutral trend was expected to crystallize next fall, during the Fifth General Assembly. Then, a few days ago, Acheson ran amok. That did it.

THE ONLY WAY: Secretary General Trygve Lie was asked to comment on the nerve-shattering events of recent days. He would not answer specific questions, but issued the best and most dignified rebuttal of Washington's policies.

If you had asked me, he said in substance, not these many questions but another, about the role of UN in the present state of the world, I would say:

"The United Nations was founded on the belief that peaceful negotiation of differences between nations is not only possible but necessary, no matter how difficult the circumstances, or how great the differences, or how deep the misunderstanding and distrust on both sides.

"I would say that the settlement of disputes by persistent negotiation and conciliation—month after month and year after year—is what the United Nations stands for above everything else . . .that this is the only way to stop the armament race and bring the contest for power under control. It is the only way in the long run to prevent a third world war."

INDESTRUCTIBLE: "I would say that the United Nations—despite all setbacks—is already a much stronger influence for peace **than many people think, if only all its friends and supporters will speak up** . . .There would be little hope for peace or for a settlement between the great powers if the United Nations did not exist.

"And I will say something else. The work and influence of the United Nations for the welfare and salvation of

York (Pa.) Gazette and Daily
"I'm a small fry now!"

the common man in every part of the world has grown tremendously during the past five years. This is just the beginning—yet the United Nations system is already **too big for selfishness, or evil, or blindness, or cynicism to destroy."**

SPEAK UP: "I have unshaken faith in the good sense and understanding of the people in all countries. I believe they know that the United Nations stands between them and destruction." The people should insist, he bebelieves, on continuing negotiations for peace "all the time, on all levels—the top level, the middle level and the lower level—inside the UN and outside the UN."

Trygve Lie's appeal to the friends of UN to speak up is easily heard abroad, where nations who have known war don't want any more of it. Gradually a majority of UN members will adopt neutral stands and thus decrease the U.S.-Soviet tension.

Will Americans react as energetically? Forgetting the propaganda about UN's "weakness," they should deluge the State Dept., newspapers and radio with protests and appeals for civilized negotiations.

LABOR

MINE WORKERS

Battle of T-H

DOWN the years the United Mine Workers have dug coal under perilous conditions, fought unremittingly for decent working conditions, protection of life and insurance against old age, which often comes early. Just as unremittingly, the united owners of the nation's coal mines have refused to bargain, precipitated strikes, run for cover behind government injunctions and newspaper hysteria.

Now the story is the same: John L. Lewis and the UMW are fighting the Battle of Taft-Hartley. In the words of Elmer Benson, Progressive Party chairman: "The use by the Democratic Administration of the slave labor act authored by the Republicans is another step in the bi-partisan cold war against the miners. It is designed to support the offensive of the coal operators against the UMW and their refusal to bargain with the union."

DON'T TALK: ENJOIN! The miners do not recognize government by injunction. They challenged the industry to talk about 200 guaranteed days of work each year, increased wages, reduced hours, a bigger welfare fund. Industry's answer was a U.S. court order finding the union guilty of "unfair labor practices," ordering men to work against their will.

Labor, progressive, liberal, church and civic groups rallied to defend the miners, send them food and money. From the Steelworkers came $500,000. From shops, offices and factories came

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boxes of food and clothing by the truckload, checks and messages of encouragement.

AND ARREST: In Pittsburgh, three Progressives were arrested for soliciting aid for the miners without a permit, held incommunicado four hours, given $10 fines or 30 days in jail. In Youngstown, three young people were seized for collecting relief at a factory gate. Newspapers damned the miners, applauded President Truman, exonerated the mine owners.

Even Truman's ardent supporters were dismayed as the brutal meaning of Taft-Hartley unfolded in the grimy, silent coal fields. The President himself is reported to have told labor leaders he was worried about political repercussions.

(See coal story, p. 16, and book review, p. 13.)

CIO PURGE

According to plan

UP to Wednesday of last week the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers were still in the CIO, had just announced the winning of 5c-an-hour cash wage boosts from the biggest U.S. metal mining corporations. It was the best industry-wide CIO wage settlement since the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union won the Hawaii-Pacific Coast dock strike.

Up to Wednesday of last week the Food, Tobacco & Agricultural Workers were still in the CIO, had just won a master contract for 10,000 western fruit and vegetable workers bringing an average 18c-an-hour gain. It was the second master contract ever signed with the western industry and the best. It included a union shop.

Up to Wednesday of last week the United Office and Professional Workers were still in the CIO, had just negotiated wage increases of $2 to $5 a week for 2,000 workers in N. Y. direct-mail enterprises.

The United Public Workers were part of the CIO until Thursday of last week. In its headquarters reports was word from its Sheboygan, Wis., local of the signing of a new contract bringing 12% wage increases and reduction of the work week to City Water Commission workers.

IT'S NO JOKE, SON: All four unions were expelled last week by the CIO Executive Board on charges of "communist domination." GUARDIAN's C. W. Fowler reported from Washington.

"The queer thing about it was the way the CIO people laughed while they blew their brains out. Here was an act of self-destruction that seemed to be a big joke, a gigantic yak, a boffo if there ever was one. Yet there was an undercurrent of ill-ease in many board members' minds. Behind the insane giggling was more than a trace of fear: if the big guys do it to the 'reds' and then divide up the spoils, what's to stop them from swallowing me the next time?"

Thus the CIO reached the halfway mark in its purge, having expelled the UE and the Farm Equipment Workers. Six organizations remain to be "tried" under now familiar methods: unsupported accusation, prosecution by inuendo, restrictions on defense witnesses, refusal to admit evidence on economic gains and union democracy. (See CIO story below.)

TEARING THE FABRIC: In the hands of all CIO board members were briefs from expelled unions showing the absurdity and danger of the "trials." In Boston, 26 educators, clergymen and civic leaders signed an open letter to

(Continued on following page)

What the turn in the CIO means to progressives

By Elmer Bendiner

THERE was an injunction hanging over the heads of 150,000 coal miners; strikers were being shot, beaten and jailed; workingmen were being laid off in every factory town; wages were being whittled down or slashed.

It was 1894 and delegates of the American Railway Union had gathered in Chicago for their first convention. This was one of their resolutions:

WHEREAS, It has been the common practice to ask candidates for public office (for) their endorsement for the principles set forth in the platform of labor organizations; and

WHEREAS, When office has been secured, the pledges have been frequently broken and wholly ignored; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of this convention that to secure perfect emancipation from the wrongs and inequalities inflicted by our social system, that the laboring men must act on independent political lines, and support men whom they know to be in accord with their principles.

In active combat U.S. labor was formulating its political creed. The railwaymen, with Eugene V. Debs guiding them, had written a fine first draft.

EDITOR GOMPERS: Since then that draft has been edited, watered down and rewritten. One of its early editors was Samuel Gompers who came out of a London slum to organize the cigar makers, then founded the American Federation of Labor.

In the heat of his battle for an eight-hour day and the abolition of child labor, he held up the banner of "pure and simple trade unionism." He kept that part of the railwaymen's resolution which required laboring men to "support men whom they know to be in accord with their principles"; he deleted that part which instructed them to "act on independent political lines." Gompers would bank on existing political parties, making friends wherever possible.

THE PHRASE RETURNS: When eight international unions left the AFL in November, 1935, to organize the unorganized into industrial unions, they brought back into their thinking the deleted phrase. The breadth of their organizing concept and the grim job of defeating the depression forced the infant CIO to campaign on its own for the political principles of the New Deal.

The New Deal was far broader than the Democratic Party. In that deal the CIO took the lead; it did not go along with the uneasy bargains of a political machine. In part, at least, it made the New Deal.

OLD AT 15: Now aged 15, the CIO has turned down another path. It leads not to the independent political action envisaged by Debs, not even to the "pure and simple" trade unionism of Gompers. CIO is doing what no labor movement in U.S. history has done except for brief disastrous intervals:

- It is tying itself to a political party (not its own) for ends that are not labor's ends. That party is the Democratic Party; its ends are the cold war. If this nation, under the Democratic Party, should succumb to outright fascism the CIO would still be tied to the regime in power.
- Its leaders advise the ministries of foreign lands on how to circumvent labor's demands abroad.
- At home it collaborates in a wage freeze.
- It has forsaken the initiative in making labor's policy, taking it ready made from a political machine.

LET PORK CHOPS GO: Just as the stand of the railwaymen for political principles went hand in hand with an embattled militance against the railroads; just as Gompers' "pure" trade unionism seemed to fit well with a concentration on the demands of the cigar makers; so does the CIO match its political affiliation to the cold war with surrender in the fight for pork chops.

Going down their chosen path the leaders of CIO have felt tugs at their rear. The rank-and-file were balking. There were recalcitrant locals in steel and auto. There were ten unions in which rank-and-file leadership was united in trying to hold CIO to the path it took in the New Deal days.

WHY THEY'RE ON TRIAL: Many of these ten militant unions comprise men and women who must be hogtied if the CIO is to do its job of enlisting labor in the cold war. So they were put on trial. This is why:

- The United Public Workers hold jurisdiction over government employes, the flesh, blood and bone of the political machine.
- The Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers face the monopolists of Anaconda, American Brass, American Smelting and Refining, the financial combines that support the cause of colonialism and the cold war.
- The Food, Tobacco and Agriculture Workers organize in fields where half the Negroes of the nation work.
- The United Office and Professional Workers are a bridgehead into the middle class. White-collar people have tended to go along with the cold war, or worse. The UOPWA threatens to reverse that trend.

These were the chief targets of CIO leaders. Their trials were parodies of court procedure; the verdicts preordained; their expulsions only a matter of course.

But still the CIO leaders felt the tug.

ENGINE TROUBLES: Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers and a vice-president of CIO, is a master strategist who in tying the CIO to the Truman Doctrine must take time off to subdue dissent in his own ranks. At the last UAW convention in July, Reuther met with resistance on trade union issues from the leaders of nine big locals.

Two of his sharpest critics were upheld by their local, Briggs-Conner. A dozen UAW locals in the Los Angeles area gathered recently in two indignation meetings "to condemn the international union" for its failure to handle grievances and protect union spokesmen from firings.

CIO vice-president Joseph Curran, president of the National Maritime Union, tried to expel dissenters. He used police to handle obstreperous points of order and to guarantee the votes. NMU headquarters were held by strong-arm squads, and seamen who objected were beaten by police and Curran supporters. But the NMU rank-and-file are patching up old grievances among themselves. On Feb. 19 they met to lay plans to regain their union.

GET BACK ON THE ROAD: These outbreaks, though they do not portend any imminent sweeping revolt, are meaningful because they occur in the strongholds of CIO—not on the outskirts. Their banners bear trade union slogans, not political ones.

But their plain meaning is that CIO must be brought to the path on which it started 15 years ago. Those who would lift CIO on that high-road will find again that "laboring men must act on independent political lines."

In Chicago this week men and women of the Progressive Party are forging a tool, filing its edges, hammering out its flaws so that eventually the U.S. laboring man can pick it up, heft it in his own hands, fix it to suit his purpose and use it.

Where are they now?

This was another day in the CIO—militant 1937. These men were heading a parade of sit-down strikers leaving General Motors plants in Detroit. They are (l. to r.) Richard Frankensteen, UAW organizer (now in business and politics for himself); Julius Hochman, of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (now in the AFL); Homer Martin, UAW president (kicked out of the labor movement on charges of company collusion); Walter Reuther, CIO organizer (now leading the UAW under the cold war banner).

(Continued from preceding page)

CIO President Philip Murray declaring: "When the CIO undertakes to enforce political conformity by star-chamber investigations and expulsions, the whole fabric of American democracy and American freedom has been undermined."

Civil rights in trade unions also came to the fore in the American Civil Liberties Union, which planned a special investigation. At its 30th anniversary conference on Feb. 22 the ACLU devoted a session to the topic: "What rights for unpopular minorities in unions?"

HIRING HALLS

Return to the jungle

LAST remaining stronghold of the jungle-type shape-up system of hiring on U.S. waterfronts is "King" Joe Ryan's dock empire in New York. There the lessons of poverty, discrimination and racketeering are constantly on display as thousands of men scramble without rules for the favor of a hiring boss.

The answer is the union hiring hall, where men go on a list, climb to the top by seniority and automatic progression, and are assigned in turn as jobs become available. One of Taft-Hartley's targets is the orderly, efficient hiring hall system.

Last week the U.S. Supreme Court had its first chance to review the T-H ban on hiring halls. The National Labor Relations Board and lower courts had barred those operated for Great Lakes shipping by the CIO National Maritime Union. Because it couldn't muster four justices who wanted to review the case, the Supreme Court in effect announced that Taft-Hartley could throw out the hiring halls.

THROW 'EM OUT! Next day the NLRB, thus fortified, threw out the halls maintained by the CIO Marine Cooks & Stewards on the West Coast, even though employers had agreed they were good.

NMU President Joe Curran commented on leaving a White House conference: "This will give the commies a field day." When it became clear to right, left and center that this would be a field day for anti-labor bosses, Curran summoned a March conference of all seamen's unions for emergency action.

Seamen may disagree on many things, but not on their hiring halls. Strikes are likely unless the U.S. acts quickly. Congress has before it bills to legalize the halls. The NMU has asked the Supreme Court to reconsider. Meantime the halls are operating, though cold-war economics don't provide enough jobs to go around.

PHONE WORKERS

No offer, no bargain

THE American Telephone and Telegraph Co. would make no offers to 100,000 workers of the sprawling Bell system, nor would it agree to arbitration of demands for more pay, pensions, vacations and other improvements. It accused the CIO Communications Workers of refusing to bargain.

With a Feb. 24 strike deadline set, federal mediators were trying to win peace in widely scattered negotiations. Barring settlement, there was one way a strike could be avoided: President Truman could ask non-Taft-Hartley fact-finders to step in. If the showdown comes, the phone workers are ready, with advance pledges of full labor support.

Get double mileage out of your GUARDIAN. Mail it to a friend in a simple, open-end wrapper with a 1c stamp, and recruit another subscriber.

THE TRIALS

BRIDGES

Cimax of the trial

HARRY Renton Bridges stepped to the witness chair in San Francisco. His attorney, Vincent Hallinan, led the CIO longshore union leader into a detailed refutation of the government's charge that he committed perjury in 1945 by denying he was a Communist.

What the jury heard was more than an outright denial that Bridges had been a Communist, conspired with Communists, or let Communists run the union. It was a testament of faith in the democratic way of doing things.

"Wouldn't it be better to repudiate Communists now?" asked Hallinan. "No," Bridges replied. "Look, we're in a trade union. In a trade union you don't ask them about their race, color or creed."

HALLINAN and BRIDGES
The testimony was a testament

HOW A UNION FIGHTS: The jury heard the history of a fighting union which had never rejected help, from Communists or anyone else. It heard about Bloody Thursday in the 1934 strike, about tough employers, about union men whose lack of courage turned them into informers and red-baiters.

Finally, Bridges spiked the stories of the U.S. witnesses, some of whom were confessed perjurers, by showing where he was and what he was doing when they said he was helping run the Communist Party.

It was the climax of the trial. Its effect on the jury would go far to decide whether the U.S. could succeed in its fourth attempt to throw Harry Bridges out of the country.

CHRISTOFFEL

Heart of the case

THIRTEEN congressmen had sworn that the House Labor Committee had a quorum three years ago when Harold Christoffel was accused of perjury in denying Communist affiliations. Defense Attorney O. John Rogge was skeptical, since congressmen usually shun meetings on snowy Saturday afternoons. The Supreme Court has ruled that the former Auto Workers leader must go free if no quorum was present.

Where were the official minutes? Rogge and the court both demanded them. The House balked, said it would release only the minutes of open meetings. Then it said there were no minutes of the vital session (which would be a violation of rules). Over Rogge's protest, the court accepted a House resolution offering other irrelevant minutes, denying that the important ones existed.

THE DIRTY JOB: To Christoffel's defense came Hugh Swofford, former Milwaukee newspaper reporter, who testified that the Hearst Sentinel once assigned him to dig up information on the CIO which was later turned over to Allis Chalmers. He said he found nothing to indicate Christoffel was a Communist, and that he had quit the paper because "I was doing things which I began to see were not right."

Final U.S. witnesses against Christoffel included Louis Budenz, former Communist turned Fordham professor, who claimed Christoffel had once been a "comrade" but didn't know how to pronounce his name.

The Phillips story

Crusade to tell America: The schools are in peril

By Egon Pohoryles

ON the campus of Idaho State College in Pocatello last December, Prof. Herbert J. Phillips spoke about academic freedom to an audience of students, faculty members and townspeople. When he finished, a local businessman stood up and said: "Dr. Phillips, when you leave here, I hope you fall and break your communist head."

Dr. Phillips' head has been communist, among other things, for 14 years. With it, he taught philosophy at the University of Washington in Seattle. Because of it, he got no promotion—despite repeated recommendations by the entire philosophy department. Last year Dr. Phillips' head cost him his job.

THE ORDEAL: Phillips is a soft-spoken, mild-mannered man, at home in the atmosphere of the lecture room. But, since the summer of 1948, he has:

- Braved a "loyalty investigation" by the now defunct Washington state Canwell Committee.
- Faced a courtroom trial for refusing to answer the Canwell Committee's question about Communist Party membership. (Phillips never denied membership but challenged the right of a legislative committee to pry into an individual's political affiliations.)
- Undergone trial by an 11-member U. of W. tenure committee before which the university administration brought no charges against his competence, restricted its charges to his Communist Party membership. The committee voted eight to three to retain Phillips; the university fired him anyway.

Also fired were Prof. Joseph Butterworth and Prof. Ralph H. Gundlach, a non-Communist. Three other professors were retained "on probation" for two years during which they could prove their anti-communism. FBI agents visited at least one of them and "suggested" that he become a government witness at loyalty trials. The government's stable of paid witnesses (including former **Daily Worker** editor — now Fordham professor — Louis Budenz), who "expertize" on communism by "putting the finger" on alleged Communists, was getting too familiar; new academic witnesses were needed.

American Odyssey

Idle after 30 years' distinguished service in his field, Phillips wrote to 1,500 schools with philosophy departments, asking for a job. A third of the 200 replies offered sympathy, none offered work. Some presidents and deans indicated they would like to hire Phillips but did not dare.

Phillips set out on a one-man crusade to arouse the schools to the "key strategy" of the assault on academic freedom: "dividing and paralyzing popular resistance by apparently restricting the attack to the Communists." It was the beginning of a fantastic odyssey.

Left without funds by his dismissal (he was given four days' notice, no severance pay), he went from school to school sponsored by campus or local progressive groups.

Local progressives and often non-political but decent-minded local people saw to it that he had a place to sleep and eat. At the end of each lecture, listeners were asked to contribute toward his fare to the next stop. In Seattle, his wife supports the family by taking in sewing and boarding other people's children.

THE DARK CURTAIN: After speaking at over 75 schools across the continent, Phillips arrived in New York this month. Thousands of students and faculty members have heard him document the story of a curtain of fear hung over U.S. campuses by the cold war, and of the corruption and apathy which have accompanied and followed it.

HERBERT J. PHILLIPS
There's a tale to tell

The list of its victims from coast to coast keeps growing. These are only some:

- Prof. Lyman R. Bradley, fired from New York University for aiding Spanish refugees and defying the House Un-American Activities Committee.
- Dr. Clarence R. Athearn, fired from Lycoming College, Williamsport, Pa., for supporting Henry Wallace.
- Dr. Richard Morgan, fired from the Ohio State Museum because his wife ran a bookshop "somewhat associated with radicals and fellow-travelers."
- Dr. Ralph Spitzer, fired from Oregon State College, Corvallis, for suggesting that people read the theory of the Soviet Russian geneticist Lysenko before criticizing it.

LET IN THE LIGHT: In high schools, too, "loyalty" purges of teachers with traditional American ideas of academic freedom continue. Of five N.Y. City teachers picked for "purging this month, three are officers or former officers of the Teachers Union, which has spearheaded the fight against New York's Feinberg Law for witch-hunting in the schools.

The motto of the University of Washington is "Lux sit" (roughly translated: "Let there be light.") All over the U.S. the lights are dimming. Support from people in and out of the academic profession for men like Dr. Phillips will keep them from going out.

C. P.—IS IT LEGAL?

No in New York, Yes in L.A.

BEFORE dawn one day last November federal marshals roused ten Los Angeles citizens out of bed and hurried them down to a hastily-summoned grand jury.

(Continued on following page)

Truman's rural double-talk

Will the farmers take the cold war bait?

By Lawrence Emery

HAVING captured labor's top leadership as a necessary bastion of his cold-war policy, President Truman is trying to capture the farm leaders. CIO "statesmen" absolved him—on the ground that he couldn't control Congress—of blame for betraying the promise to repeal Taft-Hartley. How he makes out in urging farm leaders to absolve him for failure to maintain farm income by legislation, will be seen at the National Farmers Union national convention opening March 6 at Denver.

Recently the President had a quiet chat with James G. Patton (the union's president), M. W. Thatcher (general manager of its big cooperative Grain Terminal Assn.) and Glenn J. Talbott (president of the North Dakota Farmers Union, biggest of the state organizations). Farmers Union papers reported that he had promised an all-out fight in this session of Congress for the Brannan Plan, the Missouri Valley Authority and other top legislation the union is supporting. "The President," wrote Thatcher in the Minnesota **Farmers Union Herald,** "is doing everything he can."

Earlier, Thatcher had said he saw no contradiction between the Administration's astronomical war budget and promises of domestic reform; no reason why cold-war spending abroad should not be compatible with welfare spending at home.

NO MORE INDEPENDENCE: Along with these hints that some Farmers Union leaders were falling in line came a four-day meeting in North Dakota of some 200 county officers of the union. They reached a unanimous political decision: the North Dakota Non-Partisan League—for more than 30 years an independent progressive political instrument of farmers, workers, small businessmen and liberals—should align itself with the Democratic Party.

The decision strengthened Midwest rumors that both of North Dakota's Republican Senators, William Langer and Milton R. Young, would switch their affiliations and become Democrats.

UNITY LACKING: Since its formation in 1902 in Texas, the National Farmers Union which some power groups are ready to hitch to Truman's kite has managed to retain two cardinal principles: friendship for labor, hatred for the trusts. Currently it is the only large national farm organization battling for the Brannan Plan and full parity income for the family-sized farm.

But it is by no means solidly united on all issues. The political differences within it range from the moderate left (with a large sprinkling of traditional American agrarian radicalism) to extreme conservatism (with a good sprinkling of present-day reactionary trends).

All these differences have been exhibited in recent state conventions. In Wisconsin the convention defied the national constitution and by-laws providing full freedom of membership and voted a ban on farmers suspected of "communist" views. The state organization's membership has since declined from 15,800 to 8,000 in the last quarter of 1949.

HEAVYWEIGHTS: In Minnesota conservatives and a group of Americans for Democratic Action succeeded in winning the presidency from progressive Einar Kuivinen.

In Kansas, Nebraska and Oklahoma the organizations are strongly rightist; the New York, Montana and New Jersey-Pennsylvania organizations are just as strongly progressive. In the national convention it is expected that the greatest weight will be held by the larger states that have strong ties with Thatcher's Grain Terminal Association, E. A. Syftestad's Central Exchange, Inc., and the Huff-Patton insurance cooperative operating out of the national office, with Glenn Talbott's North Dakota delegation possibly holding the balance of power.

The big cooperatives of the Farmers Union, some of which have attained big business proportions, exercise considerable influence over state organizations, most of which are dependent upon them financially through the educational fund. Withholding payment is a potent method of encouraging recalcitrant states to keep in line with conservative or right-wing policies.

MILK AND GRAVY: Kuivinen, after his defeat by right-wing forces, had this to say about foreign policy:

"It is hypocritical to believe that farmers can achieve 100% of parity under the Brannan Plan so long as the militarists and armament makers are milking the U.S. Treasury of billions for their armaments gravy train.

"Farmers, along with workers and small businessmen, are going to have to raise their voices still louder in opposition to the highway robbery that is being committed in the name of national defense."

"What other models

CIO TAKES A HAND: ADA influence in the Farmers Union, while not widespread, is concentrated at key spots. It is particularly strong in the legislative office of the Farmers Union in Washington, D. C., and in Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey's home state of Minnesota.

Since the CIO turned to the right, some of its leaders in farm states have

(Continued from preceding page)

The ten were asked four questions relating to the Communist Party in Los Angeles. Lawyers advised the ten to stand on their constitutional rights and refuse to incriminate themselves. They did. For 15 hours they were badgered. After midnight, they were brought before Federal Judge Peirson M. Hall. His sentence: "Indefinite commitment to federal jail without bail until you answer these questions." At 2 a.m. they were locked up. Two of the four women had small children.

TIDE TURNS: A higher court later overruled Judge Hall's denial of bail and the ten were released. Eleven others were brought into the case, and several were convicted of criminal contempt.

Last week, after 15 months of legal battling, victory came. The Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco overruled Judge Hall, freed six of criminal contempt, ordered rehearings for four others. The ruling was expected to be decisive in the cases of the other 11.

CHOOSE SIDES PLEASE: Defense attorney John McTernan commented:

"This is the first time that a court has ruled in the current witch-hunts that the government cannot talk out of both sides of its mouth at once. Meaning of this ruling is that, as we contended, the Truman Administration cannot conveniently argue in New York that the Communist Party is a criminal conspiracy and at the same time argue in Los Angeles and elsewhere that the Party is 'perfectly legal,' and that witnesses therefore need not fear persecution or take advantage of their constitutional right of non-incrimination."

DENVER TOO: In Denver six persons, sentenced for contempt in proceedings identical with those in Los Angeles, won a stay of execution pending an appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court.

MARYLAND SETBACK: Six months ago Judge Joseph Sherbow held Maryland's Ober Law unconstitutional, denying the state's right to invoke sweeping "anti-subversive" measures. Last week the state Court of Appeals reinstated the law, said its constitutionality hadn't been properly tested. The U.S. Supreme Court must now decide the issue.

FARM

Hogs, yes—people, no

THE sight and the sound were reminiscent of the hungry 'thirties as hundreds of farm workers (estimates ranged from 200 to 700) demonstrated early this month before the county courthouse at Visalia, Calif.

Around them in the lush San Joaquin Valley were "surplus" crops—potatoes, oranges, celery, lettuce, grapes, milk. Some of it was scheduled for destruction, some to feed livestock. Demonstrators' placards told the story: "Hogs Eat Potatoes While Babies Starve."

Currently the county is paying 50c an hour (in grocery orders) on work relief projects. The demonstrators, led by the AFL National Farm Labor Union, demanded an increase to 75c an hour, to be paid in cash. The County Board of Supervisors voted an additional $40,000 for relief, and appealed to state and federal agencies for more funds.

POOR PUBLIC RELATIONS: Further north in Fresno growers and civic officials met to consider the problem. The head of the Producers' Cotton Oil Co. had a complaint: conditions in the Valley, he said, were no worse than in large city slums, but had been "unduly publicized."

Don Jensen, welfare director of Fresno County, said: "If we ask for state or federal aid, we will only get state dictatorship." He was adamant on two other points: relief project workers would not be paid in cash, would not get more than 50 cents an hour payable in government surplus foods. To him that was "better than WPA."

The National Farm Labor Union planned more demonstrations.

FREEDOMS

DEPORTATIONS

Harisiades' fight

IN 1939 the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that an alien could not be deported for past membership in the Communist Party. The next year Congress passed a law reversing the court. In 1948 Peter Harisiades, a Greek newspaperman and former member of the U.S. Communist Party, was arrested for deportation when he applied for citizenship.

Harisiades' case is the first test of the 1940 law. He is defended by the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born. He admitted being a Communist until 1939, when non-citizens were ordered out of the party, contended that it did not advocate forceful overthrow of the government and that he had thus been illegally detained.

LET'S REWRITE THE LAW: On Feb. 10, U.S. Judge Vincent Leibell ruled that Harisiades' presence constitutes a "clear and present danger" to the country, upheld the 1940 law and invited the Supreme Court to deal strictly with all aliens who could be tagged as "subversive."

Judge Leibell noted that Harisiades had been arrested for strike activities and unemployment demonstrations. He held that Communists do aim at violent revolution despite "judicial interpretations" to the contrary, and challenged the Supreme Court to rewrite Justice Holmes' "clear and present danger" doctrine to fit current concepts of "public safety."

The law under which Harisiades was ordered deported was an amendment to the Smith Act, under which the Communist Party leaders were convicted at Foley Square. Harisiades' attorney, Mrs. Carol King, planned an immediate appeal as well as a fight for continuance of bail. Hundreds of progressive aliens will be affected by the outcome.

PETER HARISIADES
The crime: strike activity

A 1c stamp and a simple, one-end wrapper will forward your GUARDIAN to some friend who may subscribe. Don't hoard yours.

NEW HAVEN VICTORY

Setback for bigots

"LASCIVIOUS carriage" was the charge against Lonie Ward and Margaret Ackerman in the Court of Common Pleas in New Haven, Conn. The city charged that traditional moral standards had been violated when Miss Ackerman last May invited Ward, a Negro friend, to stay overnight in her home. (He occupied a downstairs room in a house Miss Ackerman shared with two other women.)

Herblock in Washington (D.C.) Post

dels have you got?"

sought to influence Farmers Union policies. In Iowa the secretary-treasurer of the State CIO Council has publicly attacked the organization for its progressive policies (GUARDIAN, Dec. 12). In Minnesota an official bulletin of the Farmers Union in its November issue had this to say in reference to its recent convention:

"We hear that State CIO Secretary Rodney Jacobson took interest in the internal affairs of the Minnesota Farmers Union by speaking at one of the political caucuses. It would seem that Mr. Jacobson owes the Minnesota Farmers Union members an apology along with a promise to keep his nose out of the affairs of our organization of which he is not a member. Jacobson, like some wishy-washy politicians, is apparently embarrassed by the fact that the Farmers Union takes a stand against militarism and the reactionary arms-for-Europe program, which are being supported by the CIO for some strange reason."

PEACE FIRST: Most recent Farmers Union convention was that of the Eastern Division (New Jersey and Pennsylvania), held the last week in January at Trenton, N. J. In Jersey the results of Administration policies, and of the present inadequate farm law which Truman Democrats helped to enact, are particularly severe. Farm income for 1949 was $26,000,000 under 1948—the equivalent of a $1,000 pay cut for every farmer in the state.

Convention speakers underscored the contradiction between Truman's adventures abroad and his Fair Deal promises at home. Said Alvin B. Christman, president: "All of these questions (full employment and the Brannan program) are subservient to the issue of peace. None of these things—Atlantic Pact, Marshall Plan, aid to Chiang Kai-shek—contribute to peace."

Fred W. Stover, president of the Iowa Farmers Union, who nominated Henry Wallace as Presidential candidate at the founding convention of the Progressive Party, told the convention: "Now again we have surplus in the midst of scarcity. Money spent abroad can't be spent at home. That is why we are having trouble collecting on Brannan program promises. We can talk about a liberal domestic policy but we can't have it and have our present foreign policy."

That is the issue before the delegates to the national convention.

From police testimony it became apparent city officials were dismayed not that a man should stay in a woman's house but that a Negro should be the guest of white people.

Two Civil Rights Congress lawyers had been arbitrarily barred from the case by Judge Raymond J. Devlin. But others went ahead to prove to the all-white jury of seven women and five men that police raided Miss Ackerman's home solely because of a Negro's presence.

WHAT'S "TROUBLE"? When defense attorneys James Rosen and Marvin Karp questioned police Sgt. Raymond Coogan and Officer Lewis Boyce, it became clear that the police thought Ward's presence was enough to indicate "some trouble."

The jury deliberated an afternoon, part of the next morning, then announced the verdict: not guilty. Negro leaders immediately planned a follow-up to stop police intimidation. First step was to be a demand for the disciplining of Sgt. Coogan and Officer Boyce.

ROOSEVELT REWRITTEN

The Two Freedoms

IN San Diego, Calif., the City Council approved President Roosevelt's Four Freedoms as the inscription on a plaque at the new $300,000 Veterans Memorial Building. Then, an objection came from Admiral William H. Standley (retired), former U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union. Two of the freedoms were inappropriate, he said.

"Freedom from want," he declared, "is a Russian communistic slogan. A fellow who is free from want is dead. Freedom from fear is a political slogan. Our American pioneers did not have to apologize for their fear of the Indians."

The City Council agreed and revoked its action.

Admiral Standley said he had no objection to freedom of religion and freedom of speech.

You'll find stories in the GUARDIAN you'll find in no other paper.

CHICAGO

The Dachau diet

THE Chicago **Sun-Times** asked: "How long can these people live on a budget giving little more than a concentration-camp diet?"

The hungry, budgeted people were the 338,000 living in Chicago on relief. In six months the Illinois Public Aid Commission had three times cut relief allotments. The latest cut went into effect Feb. 1.

Last week the Illinois Progressive Party analyzed current payments, found that a family of four on relief had about 12c per person per meal—if they kept expenses for rent, light, heat and clothing to substandard levels.

FIND MORE MONEY: The Church Federation appealed to Gov. Adlai Stevenson to restore the cuts. The United Charities warned of malnutrition, insecurity, domestic discord and juvenile delinquency. Since last August the Progressive Party has been demanding a special session of the state legislature to appropriate adequate relief funds.

The pressure began to tell. The governor, who earlier had said: "I wouldn't presume to tell the Public Aid Commission or any other state agency how to run its business," finally admitted a special session might be needed. In a speech before the Jewish Federation he said: "If the money available to do the job is not sufficient, then we will have to find more."

PEORIA ST. TRIAL

The defendant who "didn't do nothin'"

THE neighborhood in which Aaron Bindman and William Sennett live on South Peoria St. has been quiet in recent weeks. Police still guard the Bindman home, target of anti-Semitic, anti-Negro outrages, but fresh incidents have been reported.

Bindman got his first chance to testify in court against the rioters last week, in the trial of Frank Curtis, a Chicago Park district clerk, before Judge Joseph J. McGarry on a disorderly conduct charge. Standing trial with Curtis was Ed. W. Burns, haberdasher (disorderly conduct); Charles Burke (assault and battery and disorderly conduct); and Richard LaFollette (assault and battery and assault with a deadly weapon).

ENERGETIC POLICE: Earlier Judge McGarry had dismissed the cases of 17 accused rioters, when City Prosecutor Harry Iseberg failed to present a "prima facie" case against them. McGarry had also transferred to jury court for trial Feb. 27 the cases of 11 Peoria St. victims—men and women who were arrested on disorderly conduct charges after being beaten by hoodlums.

In ordering the dismissals, McGarry said: "In my opinion . . . the police were always on top of the situation . . . prompt, energetic and good police work."

But pressure from the Chicago Conference to End Mob Violence forced the city prosecutor to accept the aid of attorneys representing the victims, led by Richard Westbrooks, Joseph Edelman, H. B. Ritman and Teresa Ehrlich. These lawyers brought in witnesses who were able to identify Curtis, Burns, Burke and LaFollette.

JUST A BYSTANDER: Bindman told the court that Burns and Curtis led the mob of several hundred in front of his home on the night of Nov. 8, while he was entertaining 18 stewards from his ILWU local. Eight guests were Negroes.

Bindman said Curtis told him: "Get those goddam niggers out of there or we'll burn the place down."

Curtis, on the stand, said: "'I didn't say nothin'. I didn't do nothin'. I just followed the women across the street. I didn't even hear the word 'Negro' mentioned."

TRY ANOTHER TACK: Joseph Meihs testified that Charles Burke was one of a gang of men who beat him up. Unable to shake Meihs, defense attorney Heidenrich told Judge McGarry he could prove that Meihs "is or has been" a member of the Communist Party.

Jennings Perry

Dear friends & gentle people

KEY WEST, FLA.

IT pains me to have to report from as far south as I can get—practically under the eaves of the Little White House—that John Knight's **Miami Herald** and Jimmy Cox's **Miami Daily News** are a couple of whited sepulchres.

These two newspapers beat the field on to all the newsstands along the Keys. As a newspaperman, I would be pleased to be able to take them at face value, reveling in the stern fight they are putting up (they put it up about this time every year) against the crooked bookies and the crooked sheriffs and the lingering ghost of Al Capone: a spirited performance for the sake of the souls of easy-going Floridians, and for the titillation of precious winter visitors who go right on shelling out the "$40,000,000 take" the gangsters are supposed to split in Miami alone.

I would like to be able to propose them jointly for the Pulitzer prize as truly pious pillars of the press drawing us all up to their own moral elevation . . . But it will not do.

YOU look inside and you know it will not do. Inside, they let you down. The **Herald** for example springs from a standing start upon Sen. Joe McCarthy's "alarming claim" that the State Dept. is harboring 57 card-carrying Communists on its payroll:

"The accusation is made by a national legislator. Presumably he knows what he is talking about . . . If," rumbles the **Herald**, "the State Dept. has 57 card-carrying Communists and Senator McCarthy can so prove, then Acheson should quickly apply the boot . . ."

The rest is under the fold. You open your paper eagerly for what, in all editorial fairness, must follow, the on-the-other-hand. What is the **Herald** going to suggest if on the other hand Senator McCarthy can't prove anything, if he has only been slandering 57 unnamed patriots on the State Department payroll? That Senator McCarthy himself be given the boot by all decent people?

But the **Herald's** fervor has curled up and died, and its tough "Challenge to Acheson" miserably winds up with the poisonous query: "Or is his Department's hired help exempt from the loyalty oath?"

YOU take Cox' **Daily News**, as hot on the trail of Frankie Costello and Joe Adonis as Knight's morning vigilant ever was. The **News** also does not care for Claude Pepper, Florida's rather liberal U.S. senator, now campaigning. The **News** quotes some recent Pepper statement that he is "not traveling under false colors," and inquires archly, with murderous intent: "Does this mean that red is his true color?". . .

Such stupid, hanging questions, begging libel only by the question mark, are not the mark of honest journalism but of rotten journalism. They are crawling and slimy and sly (the **News** has not said Claude Pepper is red: obviously it has but asked in innocence) and cowardly and completely immoral. The **Herald** has sprinkled hand-washing "ifs" all over its lispy parroting of S e n a t o r McCarthy's privileged smear of the employes of the State Dept. This stuff gives you notions.

IT gives you the notion, for instance, that for all their seasonal hue and cry after the bookmakers and the bribe-takers, all their ostentatious concern for the probity of the local "law," the Miami newspapers which blanket the gilded beaches—and the fish-camps in the keys—could themselves use lessons in elementary honor and an access of honest introspection.

Their perennial war on the "rackets" would be prettier—and more impressive—for a heart-seized comprehension that moral superiority as a pose is the most debilitating racket of them all.

TOFFENETTI OUT

Holmgren back

DARIO L. TOFFENETTI, restaurant chain owner, is a handy man with a hammer. When Chicago FM station WMOR, in which he held a part interest, broadcast a half-hour documentary program on the recent Peoria St. mob violence against Negroes, he stalked into the station and hammered 100 recordings of it into splinters (see GUARDIAN Jan. 30, 1950).

Then, under the threat of withdrawing his restaurant advertising which had kept the station going, he demanded and got "special power" over programming. One of his first acts was to ban newscasts by GUARDIAN correspondent Rod Holmgren.

DINING OUT: Last week Toffenetti was out and Holmgren was back.

The station's majority stockholders, all veterans with liberal views, voted to remove Toffenetti's special powers, whereupon he resigned.

The vets restored the station's progressive policies, returned Holmgren to his Sunday 9 p.m. spot, and appealed to all Chicago liberals and progressives to save the station.

NEW YORK

RELIEF CRISIS

Sunkist mayor OKs disaster budget

PRESS photographers backed up the stairs of City Hall as Mayor William O'Dwyer, tanned and fit, came back to work. For nearly two months he had ailed, honeymooned, vacationed and recuperated in Florida.

New York's problems meanwhile had multiplied and in many areas deteriorated into crisis. The city budget wouldn't balance. Transportation was in a mess, with new fare increases threatened. Tens of thousands of city employes were set to press for wage demands, long evaded.

THE RELIEF CRISIS: On top of all that there was a crisis in the city's relief affairs. The mayor had left town four days before an announced 5% cut in allotments went into effect. Actually the cuts were larger than that amount. They meant added suffering for the 328,000 persons on the relief rolls. For many of these it meant disaster: thousands faced immediate eviction.

For a year the relief rolls have risen steadily as unemployment has grown; they are still going up. Under fire was Welfare Commissioner Raymond M. Hilliard, a man imported from Chicago for the job, a man for whom ALP Congressman Vito Marcantonio has a name: "The Chicago Chiseler."

POT ROAST A LA MODE: "We're kind of a pot roast family," said Mrs. Hilliard. She was serving a lavish buffet dinner and cocktails to reporters to celebrate her family's "going off relief." The pot-roast Hilliards, she said, found it easy. All through the month of January the six of them had lived on the relief food allowance of $124.50 and saved $28.54. Hilliard said relief clients could use that saving to buy medicine, cigarettes, carfare, recreation.

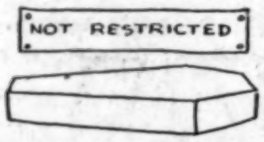
The Hilliards, dieting on relief or eating as usual, have a $15,000-a-year income, live in six spacious rooms on Riverside Drive, have a car and chauffeur. Relief clients live in tenements and must dip into their food budget to meet other needs.

FACTS ON RELIEF: On Feb. 10 the N.Y. City Chapter of the American Assn. of Social Workers reported on a study it had made: an adequate budget for a family of four, it said, would be $262.12 a month. This is nearly $100 above the Welfare Dept.'s budget.

One of the first official pronouncements of the newly-returned mayor was a vigorous defense of his relief chief.

STUYVESANT TOWN

People vs. prejudice



FOR six months the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., owners of New York City's tax-exempt Stuyvesant Town housing project, have tried to get rid of Hardine and Raphael Hendrix and five-year-old Hardine Jr., the only Negroes among Stuyvesant's 24,000 residents. When Stuyvesant Town turned them down as tenants. Stuyvesant tenants took them in as guests. Last week, the Hendrixes were still there, living in the apartment of Prof. and Mrs. Lee Lorch.

To Sid Kline, N. Y. **Daily Compass** reporter, Mrs. Hendrix spoke of the enthusiastic support of her white neighbors, the smiles, handshakes and letters of encouragement which far outweighed the few scurrilous letters, most of them anonymous. Neighbors had invited them to so many parties that the Hendrixes were forced to ask them to stop. Said Mrs. Hendrix: "We have this nice apartment and we want to live in it some of the time."

GOOD NEIGHBORS: Metropolitan Life and municipal lawyers have gone into the New York state courts to confirm Metropolitan's right to run a tax-exempt property on jimcrow lines. But the U. S. Supreme Court has before it a petition asking for reversal of the N. Y. decision.

Mrs. Hendrix said: "Our neighbors like us. We like it here. This fight will be won." Lawrence Sobol, a member of the Committee to End Discrimination in Stuyvesant Town, added: "People who live here are determined to stay in it until it is won."

Wallace on air Feb. 24

Henry A. Wallace's address to the National Convention of the Progressive Party in Chicago on Friday night, Feb. 24, will be heard over the American Broadcasting Company network from 10:35 to 11 p.m **Central Standard Time.** Check with your local **ABC** station on whether and when the address will be broadcast in your area.

Vito Marcantonio

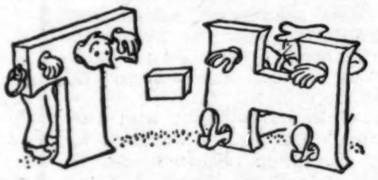
How to get Taft-Hartley out and Wagner back in

By Vito Marcantonio
U. S. Representative in Congress

THERE'S something every man and woman in the Progressive Party—whether a workingman in Manhattan whose union means something to him, or a farmer in Iowa—can do, and should do, today!

That is to exert every bit of energy you can summon up to see to it that Congress repeals the slave labor law under which the government can kick around every one of us.

I have a petition up on the speaker's desk to discharge the labor committee from considering my bill to repeal the Taft-Hartley Law and reenact the Wagner Law. It's been there a long time. It has 78 signatures on it. Before my repeal bill can get before the House discharge petition No. 2 will have to have 218 signatures.



I know my friends in New York City are as interested in this as I am. I can tell by their mail. Even Harry Truman has to pretend to want the Taft-Hartley Law repealed. He has to pretend to be a friend of the fellow who works for a living.

BUT the time has passed for pretending about a thing like this Taft-Hartley Law which puts chains around the ankles and the wrists of every American.

The shameless way in which the men who run the United States government have been able to kick around the half million men who mine the nation's coal should teach anybody who can see beyond his own nose that it is not a decent law for America—this concoction of the dictates of the big trusts which disguises itself as a labor relations law.

Anybody who has watched the plight of these men driven to strike by the sheer desperation of poverty and neglect can see what the law has done. Look at the two Federal court orders hung around the neck of UMW President John L. Lewis and every one of the miners who belongs to his union. It is hung around your neck too, if you only knew it.

What have these court orders done? They say **you can have a union,** but. . . .

- You can't fight for a closed shop.
- You can't demand the right to run your own pension and welfare fund.
- You can't insist on a clause in your contract like that the miners demand: that they may work only when they are able and willing to work. Anything short of that sounds like slavery to me, but that's the kind of a law we have.

HERE'S where the members of the Progressive Party come in, no matter who they are or where they work. They have, most of them, a representative in Congress who is supposed to stand for the things they want and to fight for them.

Write your Congressman, telegraph him, telephone him and let him know you are in earnest about this business.

Tell him you don't like the idea of one man sitting on a bench in a courtroom being able to tell half a million men they must work when they don't want to work, when they have no contract to work, and when they can't earn enough to live on even when they do work. Instruct your Congressman to sign my discharge petition—for outright repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law.

Nobody else is going to do it for you.

ONE group of men should be leading labor and the rest of the people who believe in democracy. What is this group doing about it? They are passing resolutions in Florida and

splitting the labor movement in Washington. Every last one of them should be buttonholing congressmen and making sure that the Taft-Hartley Law is wiped from the face of our statute books now.

Instead they whisper that we'll have to wait until the elections. Why? Is it possible these men want the law retained? Maybe some of them do. You can see why Harry Truman, who promised repeal, hasn't done anything to get it. The coal miners' situation proves he wants the power the Taft-Hartley Law gives him.

No, nobody—not even the leaders of labor—will battle Taft-Hartley for you. That's something you've got to do yourself. If you want a free country you yourself have got to fight to keep it free.

CALIFORNIA

LOS ANGELES

Mayor trouble

TEN years ago citizens of Los Angeles recalled their mayor, Frank Shaw, from office for corruption, mismanagement and incompetence. Most outraged by Shaw's behavior was reformer Fletcher Bowron, who became the new mayor.

Last fall a movement sprang up in the city to recall Bowron. The Independent Progressive Party circulated recall petitions charging Bowron with "corruption, brutality, vice, mismanagement and downright incompetence."

FLETCHER BOWRON
The record? Bad

The party's charges were documented. The mayor's record is bad on housing, rent control, transportation, smog, and labor. Brutality against minorities has flourished under him. His police department is corrupt.

RECALL REVIVED: The recall movement seemed stymied when a Bowron campaign committee worker challenged the validity of 50,000 signatures on petitions and was upheld by a lower court.

Last week the movement took on steam again. The Second District Court of Appeals ordered the City Clerk to go ahead and count the names. The court also granted an additional period for seeking extra signatures. Petition crews were being assembled for a new push to bring the mayor to account.

Leaflets available

"Build Peace, Not Bombs!", a four-page leaflet on the H-bomb quoting Albert Einstein, Sen. Brien McMahon and others, is available at $5 a thousand at Progressive Party, 56 W. 45 St., N. Y. 19, N. Y. Your organization's name can be imprinted at no extra cost on lots of 5,000 or more.

THE WORLD

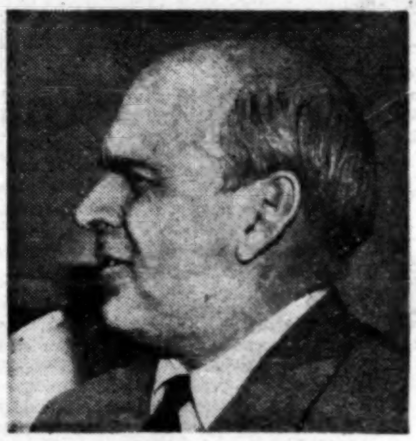
W. GERMANY

Nazi night at the opera

HEADING the bill at the Stuttgart Opera House, early this month, was John J. McCloy, U. S. High Commissioner. McCloy displayed what he called a new U. S. policy in Germany. The audience of 1,600 West Germans found the performance uneven but generally satisfactory.

They politely applauded McCloy's references to a "freely-elected" West German government under Chancellor Konrad Adenauer; sat on their hands when he spoke on the "re-emergence of nationalist groups," the presence of "still too much traditionalism and authoritarianism in German life," the fact that "many undesirable former Nazis and nationalists [are] finding their way back into important places."

The next day, McCloy called on Adenauer, whose government issued a statement saying that McCloy had reiterated his "support of the Federal Government and its policy."



JOHN J. McCLOY
Who put them there?

COMMAND PERFORMANCE: The U.S. press hailed McCloy's speech as a new "show me" policy. Bonn would have to show the U. S. that it had done with Nazism. Throughout there was the pretense that Western Germany was an independent state acting on its own. In fact, though, the U. S. had picked the play, chosen the cast and set the stage. This is the way the plot thickened:

- In Wiesbaden last month, U. S. Civil Commissioner Sola summoned a German youth leader and laid down the law. Western Germany, said Sola, needed an army "to defend democracy," because "two to three years' military service would further the education of German youth," because "the best civil servants come from the army." A prepared youth meeting on the issue of "Frying Pans or Tanks?" was "inopportune."

Only the Frankfurt **Sozialistische Volkszeitung**, edited by the GUARDIAN's Emil Carlebach, carried the story.

- Of 3,500,000 considered suspects under the denazification law (13,000,000 registered for denazification), one tenth of 1% were classed as "major offenders." The 15,000 Gestapo officials, 15,000 SS leaders and 50,000 party officials alone amount to over 2%.
- As of November, 1949, 250 Nazis were still in jail in all three western zones.
- In Hesse, chief province of the U. S. zone, 59.4% of Justice Ministry employes and 54.5% of the teachers are ex-Nazis; of six political chiefs in the Ministry of Food, two are Nazis; of two executives in the Education Ministry, one is a Nazi.
- At a session of the Bonn parliament last December, Deputy Wolfgang Hedler said that the Nazis' extermination of Jews in gas chambers might have been "wrong," but that there were other means of "getting rid of them." Last week, a West German court of three judges, all former Nazi Party members, acquitted him of anti-Semitic agitation, ruled that the Bonn parliament was "properly concerned" with the extermination of Jews. Cheering followers greeted Hedler's release with the Nazi colors.

MADE IN U. S.: Germans could ponder other aspects of western policy. Forbidden to trade with eastern Europe, their chief pre-war market, West Germany, watched its unemployed grow to more than 2,000,000. West German Labor Minister A. Storch predicted the eventual unemployment of 10% of West Germany's 45,400,000 population. That would be 800,000 less than the number of German unemployed when Hitler took over—but Germany's population then was 67,000,000.

FRANCE

Arms in the sea

INTO Nice harbor last week French workers dumped two and a half tons of armaments destined for the "dirty war" against the people of Viet Nam. Throughout France protest was growing, dockers served notice of refusal to unload Atlantic Pact arms from the U. S. In Toulon, 50 persons were injured when anti-war demonstrators clashed with police

The French cabinet sent regular army troops to seaports to replace dockers, ordered enforcement of laws relating to national defense and sabotage, which carry penalties of from ten years at hard labor to death.

Resentment over the war was partially responsible for the Socialists quitting the cabinet. U. S. pressure was suggested in inspired reports that a National Union coalition including Gen. Charles de Gaulle might be formed, now that the Socialists were out. Gaullist sources said the rightists would then call for general elections.

Canard Enchaine, Paris
THE SHADOW SPEAKING
These days, not much substance

GENERAL SLIPS: As far as French support was concerned, De Gaulle was steadily slipping. One reason, GUARDIAN's Stanley Karnow reported from Paris, was his "egomaniac personality. . . . Loss of support from industrial giants (he showed signs of becoming obstreperous with 'free enterprise') has hit De Gaulle hard. His organization, which once counted on the backing of three Paris dailies, is now relegated to passing propaganda through its own four-page weekly. De Gaulle is considering a dissolution of his RPF (Rally of the French People) rather than see it dwindle to nothing. Already organized to break the fall is the 'Friends of De Gaulle' which will continue without immediate political designs."

The "Third Force" has disintegrated with the rightist winds that blew the Socialists from the scene. But the rightist parties have no need at the moment for De Gaulle's military dictatorship. They have more to gain from their own rule.

HUNGARY

Intntl. Tell & Tell

THREE months ago Robert A. Vogeler, 38-year-old asst. vice president of the International Telephone and Telegraph Co., was arrested in Budapest on a charge of espionage. In the Budapest People's Court last week he pleaded guilty on all counts, testifying that he was a professional spy for the U. S., instructed to obtain special information about oil and uranium deposits, to help atomic energy experts escape from Hungary, and to sabotage Hungary's production.

Vogeler said that the I. T. & T. subsidiary in Hungary, the Standard Electric Co., "was only a cover organization for intelligence," with close connections to the U. S. General Staff, and high-ranking Army officers serving among its executives. He said that most U. S. business men in eastern Europe are specialists instructed to turn over information to U. S. Army intelligence.

DRUGGED AGAIN: Speaking carefully through an interpreter, Vogeler said he had gone through an FBI school in 1942, served with U. S. intelligence in Vienna after the war. In 1948 he came to Budapest with Col. Sosthenes Behn, chairman of the Board of I. T. & T., for a secret meeting with other spies. He named the U. S. officers and intelligence agents to whom he had made reports.

Vogeler's confession struck consternation in the U. S. The press shouted that he had been "drugged, starved or beaten." But correspondents on the

(Continued on following page)

China, Russia and everywhere—

The women of the world are worried about us

By Eslanda Goode Robeson

I HAVE had many wonderful trips in my life, but this last one, to the women's meetings in the Soviet Union and in China, was the most fascinating of all. The meetings were truly international, cosmopolitan, democratic and brilliant.

At the Women's International Democratic Federation council meeting at Moscow in November, there were 108 delegates from 38 countries. At the Conference of Asian Women at Peking in December, there were 165 delegates from 14 Asian countries, and 33 observers from Europe, Africa and the Americas. The delegates included Mongolians, Africans, Indo-Chinese, Malayans, Burmese, Chinese, Indonesians, Japanese, Koreans; they were Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, Buddhist, Hindu, Moslem; they were housewives, Members of Parliament, clerks, trade union officials, doctors, teachers, artists.

THE RECEPTION: We Americans had wondered how we would be received by the delegates from "behind the Iron Curtain." We felt a grave responsibility for the aggressive actions of our government. How would the victims of this aggression treat us?

This question was settled immediately. Everyone from everywhere greeted us cordially. "You are PROGRESSIVE Americans," they said. "We welcome you, and thank you for the work you are doing in your country for peace."

They bombarded us with questions: What about Wallace's future? What's the Progressive Party doing now? Surely, with all of Truman's promises to labor and to the Negro people broken so soon after his election, America will turn to Henry Wallace?

They asked about Vito Marcantonio they knew, in Mongolia, for instance, about our internal affairs.

WORRIED ABOUT PAUL: Everywhere everyone asked about Peekskill. They spoke of it as "The Resistance."

"Why are you traveling about like this?" they asked me. "Why are you

ESLANDA ROBESON
". . . and work like blazes . . ."

and Ben Davis. "Why were they not elected?" We were amazed how much not at home, protecting your husband?"

"Protecting him? From what?" I asked.

"From the Americans who tried to kill him at Peekskill," they said.

I had to explain that while some very few Americans tried to kill Paul Robeson (actually I believe they didn't want to kill him, but they certainly want to shut him up), there are millions of Americans who love and respect him, and will most certainly protect him.

WANT ANSWERS: I spoke at a meeting of 30,000 in an open square in Peking, at the end of the conference. Somewhere in the middle of my speech I said to the Chinese people: ". . . You have many friends in the U. S. who work and fight for you, particularly the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, the China Welfare Appeal, the Progressive Party, Henry Wallace and Paul Robeson, all of whom send you their warmest greetings and congratulations . . ."

The crowd cheered. It was some time before I could proceed with my speech.

Everyone everywhere deluged us with questions about the Negro.

"Now that the U. S. is insisting upon selling its particular brand of democracy to us," they said, "we want you to tell us exactly how it is working now, for you, in the U. S."

THEY'RE WATCHING: I told them I firmly believe the Progressive Party, in nominating candidates from among Negroes, Jews, foreign-born, women and workers, shows by **performance** that it merits our votes.

The delegates at Moscow and Peking reported that their peoples watch the fate of democracy in the U. S. most anxiously, and wait hopefully for the day when the American people will elect a President and an Administration which will have democratic and friendly relations with other countries.

I had to report that we Progressives are also anxious to know when our citizens are going to put into office a President and an Administration which will have democratic and friendly relations with **all the American** people.

We are not only anxious to know—we are going to work like blazes to hasten the day.

(Continued from preceding page)

scene, including Columbia Broadcasting System's Alexander Kendrick, reported Vogeler "fit, composed and in complete possession of his senses." Kendrick reconsidered and reported that during his appeal for clemency Vogeler looked "like a frightened rabbit."

Vogeler's wife in Vienna insisted he had been washing diapers in 1942, not attending FBI school. Attorney Morris Ernst, U.S. defender of wiretapping, hired to defend Vogeler, was on his way to Budapest when news of Vogeler's confession broke. He decided to visit Vogeler's wife.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Doctor ends dilemma

IN April, 1946, Dr. Arne E. Rides accepted a position as medical adviser to the British Council in Czechoslovakia. The council was supposed to be a cultural link between Britain and other nations. As a pediatrician, Dr. Rides' concern was to save children. Increased understanding was a way of preventing war, which killed children. This was her reasoning in taking the job.

Now Dr. Rides, a small, mild but firm woman with a Methodist background, has resigned and asked Prague's permission to remain and work on her own. GUARDIAN's George Wheeler reports she had this to say about the British Council:

HOW NOT TO COOPERATE: "I was surprised that I didn't hear one word of appreciation for the great constructive work of the people here. On the contrary, they had no interest . . . Instead, they shut themselves in an ivory tower to which came only the grumblers and enemies of the present regime and those who hoped to find a means of leaving the country."

Dr. Rides thought the British Council was maintained "to carry out a policy hostile to Czechoslovakia. Its main concern is the affording of moral and ideological support to the reactionary forces here.

"If I wish to preserve the ideals for which I live," she said, "I cannot do otherwise than join the forces of peace and pledge myself to work for real friendship and understanding between nations."

RELIGION

QUEBEC CATHOLICS

Pro-labor archbishop fired for his health

CRYING "Free Masonry!" and "Communism!" the Roman Catholic Church in Canada's predominantly Catholic Province of Quebec fought early CIO and AFL organization drives. Most Catholic French Canadians joined syndicates formed by the Church, headed by local parish priests and favored by the Quebec government. Collective bargaining settled down to paternalistic discussions between industrialists and priests.

Last year workers at the Johns-Manville Co.'s asbestos mine in Asbestos, Que., tired of a paternalistic 85c an hour and long, fruitless negotiations, struck for $1 and greater health safeguards. Convinced that "the Church loses all when it loses the working class," Father Louis Philippe Camirand, Asbestos parish priest, sided with the workers. So did Archbishop Joseph Charbonneau, of Montreal, who authorized pulpit appeals for aid to the strikers, collections at church doors.

RESIGNED BUT HEALTHY: Quebec Premier Maurice Duplessis outlawed the Asbestos strike, tried hard but in vain to change the Church's mind. This month, the Vatican announced Charbonneau's resignation for "health reasons," his appointment to the titular See of Bosporus. GUARDIAN correspondent Louis Lasalle commented: "His health! I saw him not long ago, and he looked wonderful. He told a reporter he never felt better in his life."

Next to be fired or shifted, it was rumored in Church circles, were Bishop Phillippe Desrangleau of Sherbrooke, Que., and Archbishop Maurice Roy of Quebec, Que., who both supported the miners. Bishop Desrangleau was busy defending Asbestos' Father Camirand against attacks by the Quebec Provincial Police, to whom Johns-Manville paid $50-a-man weekly bonuses to "protect property" during the strike.

DUFFY'S USED TO IT: In another campaign against "difficult" Catholics, Premier Duplessis made hall after hall in Montreal unavailable to pro-Wallace Father Clarence Duffy, now on a Canadian tour speaking for peace. Finally, after Father Duffy had spoken at the Cultural Centre of the United Jewish People's Order, Duplessis padlocked the Centre. Quebec law empowers him to close any premises he believes to have been used to propagate communism.

You're very welcome

In Shanghai girl students sew new buttons and patch holes in the uniforms of soldiers of the Chinese People's Republic. Meanwhile Chiang's U.S.-supplied bombers kill civilians in raids on Shanghai.

Dr. Dugan's British Poll

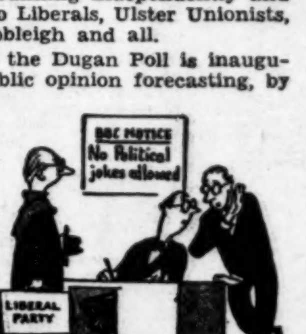
'I predict I'm wrong'

(Dr. Dugan has recently returned from six months in Britain, where he recorded the political pulse and felt the bumps on the head of the body politic.)

By James Dugan

MY giant research organization has collated the findings of our British Poll and predicts that the Labor Party will win the general election by 380 to 210 for the Tories, with about ten seats going to Communists and anti-Marshall Plan Laborites running independently and the balance of the 640 seats to Liberals, Ulster Unionists, Welsh Druids, Uncle Tom Cobbleigh and all.

In making this prediction the Dugan Poll is inaugurating a new technique in public opinion forecasting, by telling you why it is undoubtedly all wrong before the event. Main doubtful factor is Mr. Churchill, who may be able to stampede 7,974 strategic votes in backward areas by producing a photostat of Health Minister Aneurin Bevan's Communist Party card. This tactic will not be offset by any commensurate Labor gain from the left-wing vote, which feels that Bevan is not a red.



Daily Worker, London

"We're making an exception and allowing him on the air!"

Another uncertain factor is publisher Lord Beaverbrook, whose attempt to capture the Liberal Party while at the same time pushing Mr. Churchill's virtues may result in 32,109 Beaverbrook newspaper readers voting Vegetarian.

KEEP THE BUMS OUT: Now then, what does Dr. Dugan's gleaming crystal poll tell him of the issues? We see the main factor in Labor's coming victory attributable to the theory of Worsism. Worsism emerged as a decisive factor in modern politics in the election of Harry S. Truman. It is the political theory, if you can call it such, which says to the voter when he gets behind the curtain: "You don't like this guy, but the other bum is worse."

Outstanding American Worsist politicians include Thomas E. Dewey, the Victor of Manila, and John F. Dulles, the distinguished Future Secretary of State from 1945 to November, 1948. Churchill inspires deep Worsist feelings in the British voter, but he is not as Worse as King Farouk of Egypt, who pulled the supreme Worsist maneuver of contemporary politics by stealing another man's fiancee in the middle of an election. Dr. Dugan's Egyptian bureau reported that Henry L. Mencken could have beaten Farouk.

WHICH IS WORST? The Tory, or Worsist, Party in Britain is of a divided mind on the Worst policy to pursue. Party chief Lord Woolton favors the Marshall Plan, while Beaverbrook leads the Hearts-of-Oak or Empire Hoorah faction. Churchill has campaigned on both platforms, just as most Labor candidates are firmly for and against U.S. economic domination. This is the Worst issue in the election and both parties have joined in removing it from the area of sordid party politics. Adding up the electorate's feeling, as reported by Dr. Dugan's footsore pollsters, it is this: "Everybody is against Labor! Don't Vote Conservative!"

The Tories have been compelled to include socialized medicine in their platform with the Worsist pledge that they will do it better. My pollsters discovered an amazing voter reaction to the National Health Scheme: they found that the propaganda of the American Medical Assn. and the vast sums spent throughout the U.S. had not influenced a single British vote against the Health setup! On the contrary, the devious British voter seems to be more impressed by hernia operations, store teeth, glasses, quick care of t.b. and the socialized delivery of babies—all costs covered by regular income taxes—than by the soul-struggles of the American physician.

DUGAN CAN BE WRONG: Among minor party candidates, farmer Wilfred Roberts, the Liberal incumbent for Cumberland Northern, has achieved distinction as the last parliamentarian in the known world who can call himself a liberal and prove it by definition. His platform is pro-National Health Scheme, anti-Nationalization of Steel, hoorah for Loyalist Spain, Let's be be friendly with Russia, and up with Competitive Capitalism. He's got something for everybody to hate.

All in all, only one thing seems certain: Dr. Dugan's Poll will prove as wrong as anyone else's. If the findings of our splendid pulse-feeling group don't jibe with what our publisher clients get from other polls, what the hell—Dr. Gallup and Roper had to retrench too.

A PINT OF PILSENER

God's country

EARLY this month the Pilsen, Czechoslovakia, Pravda published the strange story of a bus driver. His bus had stalled in the neighborhood, he reported; the skies had darkened and a wind arisen; and then he had seen the Virgin Mary in the sky, surrounded by a halo, holding a sword in one hand and a U.S. flag in the other.

The Virgin was quoted as telling the driver and the bus passengers: "You have forsaken your Lord and you will be punished soon." When the Virgin disappeared, she was followed by U.S. troops and tanks in the sky. The bus driver was reported in a hospital, doing nicely. The town of Pilsen is noted for its fine, potent lager beer.

RIGHT CROSS: In Cihost, Czechoslovakia, the village priest reportedly told his congregation one Sunday: "He who is in the tabernacle and who is among us, he will help us." (According to another version he said: "Someone is in the church whom you cannot see.") The church cross thereupon bowed to one side, then to the other, finally leaned to the west.

Skeptical Czech police arrested the priest, told priests from two neighboring parishes to say mass.

LIVING AND LEISURE

HOUSE and HOME

Buying a house?

(From time to time the GUARDIAN will publish on these pages a column on housing. The first is below. The author is experienced in all phases of housing, from architecture to legislation, and plans to cover a wide range of topics that interest home owners and apartment renters. Suggestions and questions from readers will be welcomed.)

By Lynn Daniel

IF you are going to buy a house, you must ask the following questions:

- Can I afford the house?
- How much will it really cost?
- Is it in a neighborhood where I want to live?
- Is it well constructed?

If all the answers are yes, you are lucky. Today most of us have to compromise on one or another of those considerations. Cost is the first consideration.

DOWN TO CASES: Let's take a house costing $8,000. There are homes being built today at that price. The owner wants $1,600 in cash, which will include the down payment and expense of closing the sale. The remaining $6,400 will be financed by a mortgage. How much will this house cost per month?

MONTHLY PAYMENTS: A mortgage is a long-term loan with your house as collateral. A typical mortgage runs for 20 years at 4½% interest and 2½% amortization. (The interest represents the yearly profit the bank makes for lending you the money; the amortization is the amount returned to the bank.) Over the years the interest declines and the amortization rises. On a $6,400 mortgage the interest and amortization amounts to $40.49 a month.

TAXES: Every property owner has to pay taxes. The monthly rate varies throughout the country from $2 to $4 per $1,000 on the assessed valuation. If the $8,000 house is assessed at $6,000 and the tax rate is $2 per month per $1,000, taxes will be $12 a month.

HEATING: This varies with climate. The best course is to ask a neighbor about costs. A little less than 2½% of the cost of the house is a safe guess. On the house we are considering, it would amount to $15 per month.

BIT OF REALITY: An ad says we can own this house for $67 a month. This doesn't look alarming, but let's inspect some items they have omitted.

Every house has to be kept in repair. You may be able to do a lot yourself. But you have to figure at least $8 a month to keep the $8,000 house in order.

Most new houses are on the outskirts of cities; commuting must be added to the monthly expense. It can vary from $5 to $20 a month for one person. Electricity and gas will depend on local rates. Generally they average higher than rental apartments. In this case, figure $4 a month. Fire insurance would amount to about $1.60 a month; again rates vary. The water tax might be only 50c a month.

NO RENT-FREE LIFE: Thus the house advertised at $67 a month can cost a total of $96.10. It should also be kept in mind that the "American dream" of owning a mortgage-free house still doesn't mean living rent-free. After 20 years of monthly payments, you still have the cost of taxes, heat, utilities, water, commuting, insurance and repairs — more than $58 a month.

One other important question: whether the cost includes screens, storm windows, blinds, refrigerator, stove, insulation, weather-stripping, garage, landscaping. You should estimate realistically what you will have to buy in furniture, garden tools and extra equipment.

•

When you buy a product advertised in this paper, say: "I saw it in the GUARDIAN."

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The man and the union leader

John L. Lewis: the unfinished story

By Fritz Silber

"CONFLICT, defiance, rage, dreams of fire, bold maneuvering and cold calculation are some of the characteristics that spell out the drama of the life of Lewis."

With that summary, on the last page of Saul Alinsky's "unauthorized" biography of John L. Lewis, there is not likely to be disagreement. But there has already been hot controversy about much that Alinsky describes and analyzes in the preceding pages.

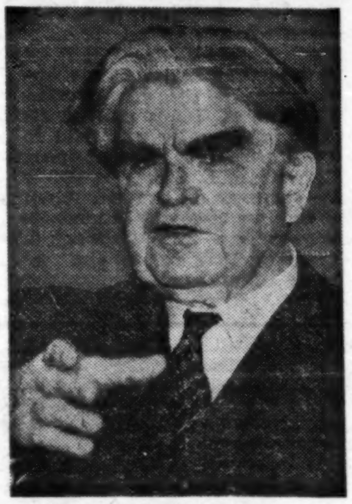
As a biographer, Alinsky is in a curious position. A criminologist, sociologist and reformer in Chicago's stockyard district, he played a direct role in attempts to bring about a Lewis-Roosevelt reconciliation.

A close friend of Lewis, he sprinkles his book profusely with material obtained from intimate interviews with the mine union leader. To that extent the biography can hardly be called "unauthorized." At the same time, however, he engages in analysis which must be accepted as pure Alinsky. Therein lies the controversy.

UNFINISHED STORY: The portrait that emerges is of a brilliant, brooding figure whose "dreams of fire" are shattered by the perfidy of others. As a drama, the Alinsky story unwinds something like a Greek tragedy, except that it is not concluded and the literary style does not uphold such a comparison. The supporting cast is always dimly in the background, never really taken into account.

What, for example, are Lewis' actual relations with the mine workers whom he holds? Alinsky tells us only that he built an effective "machine," nothing about the forces at play within the UMW. Concentration on personal fireworks has prevented Alinsky from writing a book that can be of any great value as a practical guide to labor politics.

That Lewis was magnificent



JOHN L. LEWIS
The story is not yet ended

as the conqueror of coal, steel, auto and rubber barons is indisputable; but reading of the early CIO battles, one must recall that there were also a few *workers* involved. Whether Lewis alone fathered the Wagner Act is disputable when one reads other histories and other biographies. Lewis' ambitions, his disdain of Roosevelt's type of political maneuvering, his clever use of the White House in the grim duel—all make illuminating and sometimes fascinating reading, with proper discounts.

WHERE WILL HE GO? Today the big question is: what role will Lewis and the UMW play in critical U.S. labor developments to come? Philip Murray has led the CIO into the position Lewis always abhorred—complete subservience to politicians. The AFL is still the AFL. Upon the UMW and other unions which insist on independence, economically and politically, falls the burden.

How will Lewis measure up? In the light of current headlines it is interesting to read Alinsky's account of the Lewis-Murray break, with Murray portrayed as a cringing figure cast out of Lewis' domain while whining that he didn't want to go. "Very well," Lewis is said to have replied, "if you don't wish to go, you may go." Alinsky says Murray went, weeping; that he "passionately yearned for the security of being enveloped in Lewis' shadow, and yet he was now obsessed with the drive for power and recognition."

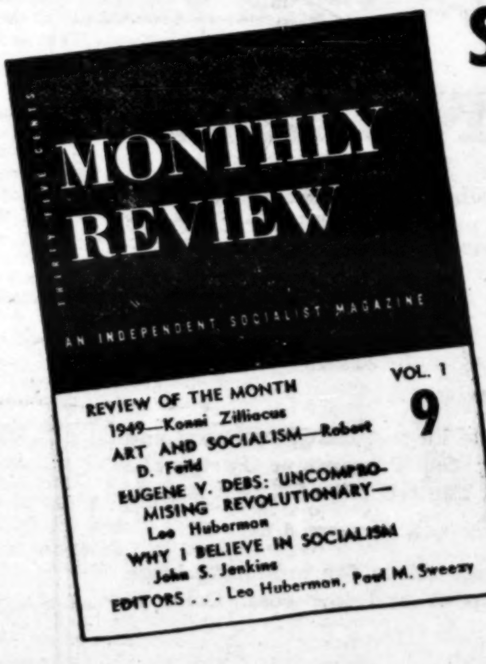
Such may be the case. But Lewis now stands in the forefront of the fight against Taft-Hartley. Where will he go? How will he deal with his allies and enemies? What are his plans and dreams now? Alinsky's book provides no sound guide for answering such questions, for it ignores the shaping forces which not even Lewis can control alone.

JOHN L. LEWIS: AN UNAUTHORIZED BIOGRAPHY. G. P. Putnam's Sons, $4.

Whether you like it or not—

SOCIALISM

—IS HERE TO STAY!



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DON'T FENCE ME IN

Tired of tapped wires and frightened neighbors, U.S. Govt. employe, still marked "loyal," seeks new horizons. Can anyone put to good use the experience of a Labor Dept. attorney with 7 years' background in research, writing, editing, conferring at all levels (mainly Wage-Hour law matters), coupled with the capabilities, initiative and outlook of a good progressive? Salary now $5,400, but much of it goes to compensate for the fenced-in life. What have you to offer—northeast or midwest? Write NATIONAL GUARDIAN, 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y., Box 250.

If Fulton Lewis slams it —

The Voice of Freedom must be OK

"I HEARD Fulton Lewis denouncing you on the radio last night and immediately decided that you were good people to know."

That message was among many received by the Voice of Freedom Committee, 122 W. 71st St., N.Y., in the days following Lewis' recent fulminations against VOF as a band of "Red" conspirators seeking to drive patriots like himself from the airwaves.

Lewis needled his WOR-Mutual audience for days in advance with hints of "sensations," complete with photostatic evidence. The mouse that crept forth from these labors was nothing more than the information anyone can get from Voice of Freedom literature—but disguised with Lewisian hysteria to look like a tiger with scarlet stripes.

AN ARMY FOR TRUTH: For over two years VOF has been conducting a campaign to bring truth and fairness to radio. Among its sponsors are Leonard Bernstein, Algernon D. Black, Judy Holliday, Dr. Gene Weltfish, Fritz Mahler and Edward G. Robinson. Chairman is Dorothy Parker. Heart of VOF's work is a network of 3,000 radio listeners throughout the U.S. who write to radio stations, program sponsors and newscasters at the drop of an undemocratic remark. The corps of monitors has been expanding steadily; more are always welcome.

What irks Fulton Lewis, apparently, is the effectiveness of some of VOF's efforts. Its first public rally was held in 1947 to protest the dropping of William L. Shirer by CBS; he got back on the air. When a baking company ended its sponsorship of William S. Gailmor, VOF dug up the real story of undercover pressure. Last year VOF supporters applauded CBS for broadcasting Shirley Graham's **Story of Phillis Wheatley** as a documentary for Negro History Week.

THE AIMS OF VOF: There are three prongs in VOF's drive: to assure progressive voices and interpretation for America's vast radio audience; to organize listeners who want to lift radio's standards to adult levels; and to break radio's lily-white pattern by winning employment in responsible jobs for Negroes and other minority representatives.

If Fulton Lewis thinks VOF has advanced to the point where it deserves his sensationalized attentions, GUARDIAN radio listeners may quickly agree that the people behind the Voice of Freedom are indeed "good people to know."

Vie Nuove, Rome

"No wonder he became imbecillic, with all this stuff crammed in his head!"

The movies and you

Censorship

By Jean H. Lenauer

CONSIDER the censorship problem in films, and an odd thing emerges: films are censored not only before the public sees them, but even before they are conceived. The responsibility for this belongs to the motion picture industry itself, coordinated and bank-controlled.

It is true that the films were early threatened by federal censorship. But instead of fighting on the basis that films, like radio and newspapers, had freedoms guaranteed by the First Amendment, the appeasement boys offered their own panacea — self-censorship — and hoped thereby to protect their investments.

This compromise, the Production Code, an innocuous mish-mash of vague ethics and moralistic platitudes, had existed for a long time, but now it fell under the rigorous interpretation of Joe I. Breen, a lay representative of the Catholic Church, who administered it according to the narrowest standards of this religious group.

ONLY CONFORMISTS: Breen's office not only censors finished films, but scripts are closely scrutinized for nonconformist thought. The appeasement attitude taken by Hollywood, the willingness to fall in with the witch-hunt and betrayal and blacklisting of the Hollywood Ten, made it clear to all small-time censors that Hollywood would not fight. When enough money is involved, both the Breen office and the censor boards close an eye to such off-color productions as **The Outlaw.**

Today, in spite of the code, the censor boards do as follows:

- In N. Y. state a film may be prohibited as "indecent" but with a 20-minute subway ride under the Hudson you can see it in Jersey.
- In Boston a film approved by the National Board of Review, a respected organization, does not require a seal, but on Sundays the same film will have a bit of realistic dialogue scissored out.
- In Chicago, where a police official functions as censor, scenes of police corruption are invariably banned.
- In Pennsylvania the lady who administers the censorship office refuses seals to Soviet films because "communistic ideas are immoral."
- In Birmingham, Ala., the censor calls **Pinky** indecent, morally offensive and unfit to be seen. And in Memphis, Tenn., Lloyd T. Binford continues to refuse a license to **Lost Boundaries** because he decides which pictures "I think are not to the public good, for both the white and Negro races."

DON'T START A FIGHT! Hollywood and its spokesman, Eric Johnson, protest these denials of civil liberties but steer clear of doing the one thing that might clear the air: to win a legal ruling that constitutional liberties are being infringed. And this despite the standing offer of the American Civil Liberties Union to argue such a case up to the Supreme Court. The result of this spineless attitude: investments are not safeguarded, and self-censorship has brought films to their lowest levels.

The final answer must lie with the people. Even on local levels it can be done. **Harvest,** a fine French film, and **Devil in the Flesh** were banned by the N. Y. censor, but press and public carried on a campaign and the censor reversed himself.

Film societies and clubs are not subject to censorship. Multiplied, they could loosen the grip of reaction.

And finally, Hollywood is afraid of its own shadow and hypersensitive to outspoken and even unorganized criticism. If the church can scare it, what might not be accomplished by other pressure groups?

Rachel

The following item was published in the Frankfurt, Germany, **Rundschau** last Dec. 28:

"The American film **Marriage Without Love** is currently being shown in Hamburg with Loretta Young starring in the role of Rachel. This Jewish name was changed in the German synchronization to Agnes. In a criticism in the Hamburg **Abendblatt,** this is the opinion of the reviewer: 'In the synchronization, Rachel was translated as Agnes: with that, the only point which a German moviegoer might not like has been removed.'"

The **Rundschau** did not add that the original U S. title of the film was **Rachel and the Stranger,** and the RKO script was based on a story by Howard Fast.

It failed to add also that all Jewish women in Germany were ordered by the Nazis to add the middle name Rachel to their given name.

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DOLLAR STRETCHER

Restoring an old fur coat

YOUR old fur coat will look better and wear longer if you use a simple cleaning technique similar to that used by professional cleaners.

First rub sawdust or barley into the fur. Then beat it out with a thin stick, which pushes up the dirt underneath. Brush the fur with a little cold water, and finally comb it in the direction of the flow of the fur. It's risky to iron a fur yourself to restore the luster. There is a spray, Perma Glaze, on the market which will give your coat some luster if you don't want to spend the money for a professional glazing.

Refinishing home floors

REFINISHING floors yourself is not difficult if you use the right materials. Bypass varnish or shellac in favor of penetrating seal, a mixture of wood oil and varnish gums which seals the pores of the wood and gives it a sheen but not a high gloss.

Experts recommend the penetrating seal for amateurs not only because it is easier to apply, but because a seal finish does not scratch with ordinary use as does varnish or shellac. On a floor previously finished with shellac or varnish, complete sanding and cleaning are necessary.

Frozen orange juice

THE quality of frozen orange juice was found generally high among 19 widely-distributed brands. Thirteen, including such well-known brands as Birdseye, Minute Maid, Snow Crop and Donald Duck, rated Grade A according to standards set by the U.S. Agriculture Dept. But there are great differences in flavor among brands, and some individuals have strong preferences for one kind or another. It is suggested that buyers experiment and choose from the high quality brands the flavor they prefer. Prices too, were found to vary (generally frozen juices are sold in six-ounce cans, which make 24 ounces of juice) and price bore no relationship to quality. All brands were judged adequate in vitamin C content.

(The following items are based on product tests by Consumers Union, publisher of "Consumers Reports," 38 E. First St., New York

Sheets

THERE is no single best buy in sheets. First you must decide whether your needs are best met by muslin or percale. In favor of muslin is its low initial price; in favor of percale is its appearance and feel as well as laundering economy.

Tests of 23 brands covering 60 types and price lines show that highly durable brands are available in both muslins and percales. Of the muslins, the "Type 140" (type is usually indicated on the label) proved generally superior to the "Type 128"; "Type 112" is generally of poor quality and not worth buying. Among percales, "Type 200" was generally superior to "Type 180," though there were many individual exceptions.

Size markings on sheets are in terms of unshrunk, torn size before hemming. To find the size you need, allow five inches for top and bottom hem and some for shrinkage. CU found up to 3% shrinkage in width and up to 8% in length. Tests were made on 81 x 108 in. (double bed size) sheets. The following were reported as top ranking in their groups: Spiegel's Sleeping Beauty, Cat. No.-7181 (Type 200, percale); Sears' Harmony House, Cat. No.-7862 (Type 200, percale); Fruit of the Loom Extra Weight (Type 140 muslin); Spiegel's Hostess, Cat. No.-7123 (Type 140 muslin); Sears' Harmony House Cat. No.-7282 (Type 140 muslin). Other brands high in quality include Pepperell Type 200 and Utica Type 200, Fieldcrest Type 140 and Dan River Type 140.

Pots & Pocketbooks

Bacon in the budget

By Charlotte Parks

"BRING home the bacon," yelled the mother of Jack Johnson as he stood in a tense moment of his greatest fight. In Mrs. Johnson's day bacon was the "leading lady" in the working-class diet. It was not yet in the luxury class.

Lately I have been doing some research on a cut of smoked pork called Dixie Bacon, sold in popular-price meat markets. It comes in pound-and-a-half to two-pound chunks and costs around 19c per pound in N.Y. With a

sharp knife you can cut it in thin slices. There is a good streak of lean; though it does not come up to the severest judgments of an epicurean taste in bacon, it is very good indeed.

The trick is in cooking it slowly when it becomes crisp enough to take in one's fingers; according to the authorities, bacon is a finger food like fried chicken and olives. It crunches deliciously in sandwiches and is attractive on the platter surrounding eggs.

Bean stew

1 lb. Dixie Bacon
2 sliced onions
2 stalks celery
1½ qt. water
1 lb. string beans

Put bacon in cold water and cook one hour. Add vegetables and cook another hour. The vegetables should be a "heavenly mush," as the old Virginia gentleman who gave me this recipe phrased it. Fine for below-zero days.

Beans and bacon

1 lb. bacon
1½ qt. water
1 lb. lima beans

Start in cold water in tightly lidded pot with low flame. Take a three-hour vacation. If you have a pressure cooker it will take much less time, but this dish must be thoroughly cooked. The perfect touch is to put the beans in a casserole, topped with the bacon and nicely browned in the oven.

•

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National Guardian, 17 Murray St., New York 7, N.Y.

Report from the coalfields

The miners are fighting for the right to live

By Amy Schechter
GUARDIAN Special Correspondent

PITTSBURGH

SOMEBODY said: "... Those horrible stories coming out of the coalfields about people freezing and keeling over from hunger ... Do they have to strike —especially now, in winter?"

You can add to that the special plight of the 375,000 most vulnerable members of the 2,000,000 coalfield population: the sick and disabled, the old, the children, the widows and orphans of men killed down the mines. With peculiar brutality the coal operators moved against them first of all, six months ago—forcing the union's Health and Retirement Fund, through which these 375,000 got hospital and medical treatment, pensions and other cash aid, to suspend operations.

LET THE BLOOD FLOW: But as the broadcasters put it, the miners have to be tamed. The injunction clamps down the open shop on the coalfields again. Through outlawing the "work when willing and able" and memorial stoppage clauses now in the UMWA contract, it takes away the miner's one way to save himself from injury or death in mines declared unsafe by the government's own inspectors.

It wrecks the Health and Retirement Fund, except as some sort of powerless company-union setup.

"... Widows & orphans ..."
A blast entombed Tom Boyer in a W. Frankfort, Ill., mine. Larry, 2, won't see Daddy again.

It gives the operators the green light to bring back the private thug armies with which they terrorized Pennsylvania, West Virginia and Kentucky in former open-shop days.

It allows them to go ahead with the slaughter of men that has made America's coal industry notorious for "the callousness with which the lives of its workers are being sacrificed," as the U. S. Bureau of Mines phrased it.

ATOMIC FIGURES: In the mass slaughter at Hiroshima about 71,000 were killed. There have been 79,240 miners killed at work in the period from 1906 through 1945; the yearly average was 1,981. In the past five years there were 243,923 killed and injured. From 1930-1944 the average injured each year was 66,968.

Even in the first half of last year, when operation was already curtailed and the miners' annual vacation in effect, there were killed: In January, 65; February, 44; March, 45; April, 50; May, 46; June, 41.

Death rate from all causes in the U. S. was 10.0 per thousand in 1946; for miners, 15.1 per thousand. Insurance rates are 227% higher for miners than for workers in non-hazardous industries. (Health & Retirement figures based on government reports.)

THIS WAS EDDIE: If trial by jury is permitted in this T-H injunction proceeding, Eddie McGinnis might be brought in as the first witness.

McGinnis was at work one day in a West Virginia mine when a fall of rock broke his back. His legs were amputated at the thigh. First he lay in the hospital, then his state compensation ran out and he was carried home.

"We found him lying in a deplorable shack up in the woods," a physician at the Pittsburgh area office of the union's Medical, Health and Hospital Plan (medical arm of the Health and Retirement Fund) told me. "He was in his thirties ... and we had to carry him down the hillside ... ford a stream. We took him to the Kessler Institute in Newark ... About a year later I saw him again ... From the waist up he looked like a prizefighter ... Now he's running a restaurant."

FORGOTTEN MEN: Fund physicians' first job was to locate similar desperate cases—the vast majority completely abandoned by the coal operators who have no rehabilitation plan, assume no responsibility for their victims. Physicians brought out about 496 of these horribly-injured men—most are paraplegics.

McGinnis is lucky as crippled miners go; he was injured only a couple of years before the Fund began its activities. "We took out one miner in Ohio who had been lying there for 21 years," I was told.

In a sober factual report before the U. S. Public Health Assn., Dr. Warren F. Draper, executive officer of the union's medical program, who used to be deputy surgeon general of the Public Health Service, broke out into inevitable anger when he reached the subject of these men. "Some 400 miners with broken backs, paralyzed from the waist down, were bedridden, helpless and forgotten in their hillside cabins, their workmen's compensation exhausted ... eking out an existence of indescribable misery and torture ... with nothing to hope for but an agonizing death."

Never before confronted with such problems, hospitals to which the men were taken "were compelled," said Dr. Draper, "'to organize teams of specialists and devise new techniques for salvaging the remaining tissues of their diseased and wasted bodies."

NEW DANGERS: Through the injunction the government plans to drive miners down unsafe mines. Federal inspectors still have no "police powers" to shut down mines found deficient in safety provisions, hazardous in operation. The coal lobby has successfully fought the union-backed bill granting them these powers. Scores of instances are on record of falls of rock or coal (cause of over half mine casualties), explosions and major disasters that occurred soon after mine safety committees and federal inspectors warned of impending danger; their warnings were turned down.

Explosion: Black Damp
The faces tell the story at Centralia, Ill. Carbon monoxide set off the explosion. The government had warned the company, but nothing had been done. One hundred and eleven men died.

Meanwhile mechanization continues. A government group of engineers, physicians, etc., headed by Admiral Joel T. Boone, made a survey of the bituminous coal industry in 1946, with special emphasis on health and medical care conditions, sanitation and housing—which, in general, were described as deplorable. The group warned of the new hazards attendant on mechanization speedup for both safety and health.

WHAT NEXT? Extravagance breeds extravagance, and **Coal Age** (operators' organ) has been speculating about where the miners' demands would lead if not stopped:

"Would the Fund build sewers and bathrooms? ... Or would the union and Fund leaders stage a campaign to force the companies to make improvements, whatever the cost?" **Coal Age** asks. No suggestion of invoking Point Four instead of T-H for the coal mine country.

It bases its views on analyses of some 500 of the resolutions sent to a UMWA convention by locals all over the nation as an "indication of what lies ahead for the Fund." These resolutions include demands for better town sanitation, better housing, roads, mine bathhouses (six states with over half the mine population still have no laws requiring coal companies to build and maintain wash houses at their mines.)

Coal Age also observes that miners' officials are studying the Boone Report locally as well as nationally. Perhaps the Admiral will be the next one on the subversive list.

THE CALENDAR

New York

CHINESE SPRING FESTIVAL, benefit of Friendship Cargo for China, Fri., Feb. 24, 6:30 p.m., New Hankow Restaurant, 132 W. 34 St. Jack Belden, Richard E. Lauterbach, Curtis Ritter, Richard Watts Jr. & others will be there. Call China Welfare Appeal, MU 6-8525.

SUNDAY BRUNCH, sponsored by Committee for the Negro in the Arts, to greet Lawrence Brown, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Hope Foye, Paul Robeson, Shirley Graham, others, Sun., Mar. 5, 12:30 p.m., Manhattan Towers Hotel, B'way and 76 St. Cover $2.50. Call GR 3-5940.

MEMORIAL MEETING, 10th anniversary of the death of Reuben Brainin, dean of Hebrew writers, Sat., Feb. 25, 8 p.m., The New School, 60 W. 12 St. Speakers: Dr. Joshua Bloch, Dr. Simon Bernstein, Leon Kessman, Paul Novick, others. Musical program. Tickets 60c. 103 Park Av., Room 414, MU 9-5280.

DINNER-SYMPOSIUM on Peaceful Policy for U. S.-Soviet Co-Existence, sponsored by National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Mon., Feb. 27, 7 p.m., Aldine Club, 200 Fifth Ave. Speakers: Richard R. Wood, Johannes Steel, Richard Yaffe, Cedric Belfrage. Cover, $6. MU 3-2080.

NATIONAL COUNCIL of the Arts, Sciences & Professions sponsors: Fri. Feb. 24—Building Industry Division presents "Planning for People," 8 p.m., Photo League, 23 E. 10 St. Speaker: Hans Blumenfield. Admission 75c. Tues. Feb. 28—Women's Division presents "Report on China," at home of Esther Gray, 15 W. 67 St., 8 p.m. Speaker: Israel Epstein. Members, free. Non-members, 50c.

NINTH ANNIVERSARY Dance and Entertainment, sponsored by Yugoslav Seamen's Club, Inc., Sat. eve., Feb. 25, Yugoslav-American Home, 4055 W. 41 St. Music by Rudy Richman and his Twilight Timers. Admission $1 incl. tax.

"LET MORNING RISE," a Players production by Hope Hern, a play about the Polish underground in the war. March 2, 3, 4, Master Institute Theatre, 310 Riverside Drive. Tickets at 20 E. 53 St., fourth floor. Discounts for organizations.

FOLK AND SQUARE DANCE, sponsored by Town & Village Tenants Committee to End Discrimination in Stuyvesant Town, led by Ann Sonny, Sat., Feb. 25, 8:30 p.m., Stuyvesant Neighborhood House, 74 St. Marks Pl. Guest artists: Anita and Jules Adolphe, Cuban dancing. Admission $1.

Listings in this Calendar are available at 40c a line (six words); minimum charge $2 per insertion. Copy deadline one week before publication. Please send payment with copy. Address: Calendar, National Guardian, 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.

"PEACE, NOT BOMBS!" RALLY, sponsored by Manhattan Council, Congress of American Women, on eve of International Women's Day, Tues., March 7, 8 p.m., Manhattan Center, 34 St. and 8 Av. Speakers: Ada B. Jackson, Dr. Melber Phillips, Ewart Guinier. Movie on UN. Admission 50c.

Chicago

SECOND NATIONAL CONVENTION of Progressive Party, Fri., Feb. 24, Sat., Feb. 25, Sun., Feb. 26. Registration Fri., 10 a.m., Ashland Auditorium, 328 So. Ashland. Fee: $2 per delegate. All convention sessions at Ashland Auditorium. Combined Mass Meeting and Opening Session, Fri., 8:15 p.m. Speakers: Henry A. Wallace, Rep. Vito Marcantonio, Elmer A. Benson, Earl Dickerson, Hugh Bryson. Admission 75c.

CONCERT OF PEOPLE'S MUSIC, Sat., Feb. 25, 8:30 p.m., by Paul Robeson and Ray Lev, Ashland Auditorium. Tickets 60c, $1.20, $1.80. **AFTER CONCERT PARTY,** sponsored by 4th and 5th Ward PP, at the Phillips', 1316 E. Madison Park. Chicagoans — donations $1. Delegates — free.

"MUST WE FIGHT RUSSIA?" auspices of Chicago Council American-Soviet Friendship. Round-table wiith Bishop W. J. Walls, Dr. Harry F. Ward, Wm. M. Mandel, Otis Hood, Thomas L. Slater, Fri., Mar. 3, 8 p.m. 8th St. Theatre, 741 S. Wabash. Tickets: $1.80, $1, 60c.

HONOR SAM HAMMERSMARK, manager Modern Book Store, for his more than 50 years of outstan[ding] service to the labor move[ment] at his birthday party, S[...] Mar. 4, 548 W. Eugenie. [...]

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"'THE ROOSEVELT STOR[Y][...] winner of World Film Fest[ival] [...] Supino Club, West Oakman and Michigan Av., Feb. 27, 28. [Ad]mission 50c adults, 15c child[ren]. Call LU 1-9276.

Denver

WILLIAM M. MANDEL will lecture on "Atom Smashing for Peace," Fri., Feb. 24, 8 p.m. Unitarian Church, 19th and B'way.

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